

LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

Why is the choice of the language of instruction in which students learn best seldom made?

A closer look at results from LOITASA project in Tanzania

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Spring 2009

ABSTRACT

The objective of this project is to examine how children in African societies can be taught in ways that provide the highest quality learning environment. The study will examine why mother-tongue education is not used in schools in Africa when study after study shows that this creates the best learning environment. Language is the tool which makes learning possible. Why is the choice of the language of instruction in which learner could learn best seldom made in Tanzania?

Further, the study will examine how language and other aspects of quality learning are treated across the public/private educational divide. Education through schooling is *a right*; however, many poor and marginalized children in Africa do not have access to school. In what ways does the trend towards private schooling in Africa affect the rights of poor and marginalized children to schooling and quality learning? Why are dropout rates high in public school and is this related to poor pedagogical support? The project will examine the ways in which *financial support* and *pedagogical support* in public and private schools affect learning in Africa.

I will set my fieldwork in Tanzania and focus on one private and one public school to see how and why private schooling is growing and how and why they use English in private schools and Kiswahili in public schools? What are the advantages and disadvantages of these choices and what are the consequences for poor children?

Another focus of the study will be on the private schooling issue. The increase in private schooling disfavors the poor and limits their educational choices. What is the trend in education in Tanzania towards private education and how are poor children fairing?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost I would like to thank sincerely my supervisors Birgit Brock-Utne and Mwajuma Vuzo for their valuable insights and advice. I want to especially thank Birgit for her inspiration from the beginning of the Master program to the end (I am very glad I met you Birgit) and Mwajuma for all the help and guidance while I was in Tanzania. Asante sana!

I would like to thank the LOITASA team for its support in Tanzania and in Norway. I drew inspiration from the results of the project and the seminar. The LOITASA members gave me the encouragement during the entire period of this study.

I am particularly grateful to Redd Barna for their financial support. Tusen takk!

I would like to acknowledge Abdallah Ngodu, Senior Education Officer in the Department of Policy and Planning Research Unit at the MoEVT who not only guided me while I was in Tanzania from the beginning but also afterwards through correspondence from Norway. Asante sana!

I would also like to acknowledge all the people I met in Tanzania, the pupils, teachers, lecturers, professors, the NGO staff, the government officials and friends who gratefully gave me their time and supported my research throughout the process. Asante sana!

I would also like to use this opportunity to thank my friends in Norway for their help and support. For your time and your interest: Andrew, Inga, William and Berit, thank you!

A special thanks to my dear friend Solveig who has always been there from the start and with whom I have had wonderful discussions which encouraged me throughout the past two years. Tusen takk min kjære Sol!

Moreover my gratitude goes to my family all over the world for their encouragement, my sister Louisa, my aunt Hamama and my dear grand-mother for always believing in me. My special thanks to my 3 dearly loved children Paul, Alexandre and Kahena for allowing their mother to spend so much time abroad and in front of the computer. Un grand Merci!

Last but not the least, I wish to express my deepest and most sincere gratitude to my loving husband Hal for his endless support, help and patience. Thank you very much!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
BAKITA	Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa
BERE	Bureau of Educational Research and Evaluation
CASAS	Center for Advanced Study of African Society
CIES	Comparative and International Education Society
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
DIS	Dar es Salaam International School
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ED	Economical development
EFA	Education for All
EPA	External Payment Arrears
EMP	English Medium Primary
ESF	Education for Self-Reliance
FSP	Fond Special Project
GNP	Growth National Product
GPS	Government Primary Schools
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
IKR	Institute of Kiswahili Research

IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMPLAN	Implication of Language for Peace
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LoI	Language of Instruction
LOITASA	Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MoC	Ministry of Culture
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PITRO	Program for Institutional Transformation, Research and Outreach
PPS	Private Primary School
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
RFA	Radio Free Africa
RTD	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Cooperation
TEN-MET	Tanzania Education Network - Mtandan wa Elimu Tanzania

TDMS	Teacher Development Management Strategies
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TUKI	Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili
TVT	Televisheni Ya Taifa
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
WCEFA	World Conference of Education For All
WWII	World War 2

1. INTRODUCTION

The intention of this study was to examine the question of why local languages are not used as mediums of instruction in schools even though there is a substantial body of research which shows that children learn better in a local language. This study was situated in Tanzania and has been linked to the research project called LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa), a University of Oslo-based project which has examined educational and language issues in Tanzania and South Africa (the project is described in more detail below).

The study examines complex policy issues relevant to education and language. These have their roots in the colonial period, when English was imposed in all the public areas of Tanzanian society, including education (URT, 2009). These colonial policies were reinforced in post-WWII development aid, but changed in the Julius Nyerere period from the mid 1960s (Brock-Utne, 2006). Nyerere's policies emphasized local development, cultural preservation and the widespread use of Kiswahili, including its use as an educational language for primary schools. In the past several decades, Nyerere's ideas have however been superseded due to pressures, both from international development organizations and local forces who see English as the new global language of commerce and education. These pressures are also an important explanation for the growth of private elementary schools, most of which use English as a medium of instruction. Given this political complexity, the subjects of the research for this study have ranged from local schools, their staffs, their students, the students' families, as well as government agencies, NGOs and Tanzanian academic experts.

In this introductory chapter, I shall first give the rationale of the study. I then give a synopsis of research questions and method (which will be explored in greater depth in chapter 3), followed by the important historical and political background of Tanzania, the LOITASA project and my motivation for studying the relationship between language and education.

1.1 Rationale for the study

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” (Nelson Mandela)¹

Studies such as those of Alamin Mazrui (1997), Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003), Leketi Makalela (2005), Birgit Brock-Utne (2007), and Catherine Odora (2002) all conclude that language of instruction and local curriculum have to be taken seriously if one wants to achieve quality education. Studies such as those of Prah (2003), Brock-Utne (2002) and Odora (2002) find that the curriculum in Africa was developed in the colonial time under western influence, and did not reflect Africans ways of teaching and learning. New thinking about incorporating local ideas, best expressed in local languages is urgently needed in order to avoid the “Recolonization of the Mind” (Brock-Utne, 2006). But how do Minds *relearn*? This is one of the important questions I address in this thesis.

A related point is that mother tongue carries with it identity and therefore one has to understand both the sensitivity and the luggage which the mother tongue bears with it. The mother tongue is not only a language but an education in itself. Through language one develops a way of thinking, a way of expressing and a way of experiencing. Concepts, emotions and cognitive relationships through which we learn are bound up in language. There are good reasons for asserting that a local and familiar language ought to be used as a language of education. Tanzania has an African language Kiswahili, which is understood by 99% of the population (BAKITA)². Tanzania is one of the few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa which has used an African language as a *Language of Instruction* throughout primary school, starting after its independence in 1967 (Brock-Utne, 2005:56). The school system in The United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is represented by the motto –Elima na Kujitegemea– written in Kiswahili and meaning ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ (URT, 2009). Tanzania has had a socialized school system emphasizing free schooling. Free schooling was an important

¹ Quoted at the UNESCO (United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Conference: “Education for All by 2015: Will we make it?” was held the 30th of January 2008 in Oslo (R5- Government building no.5).

² Kimizi (2007:1) writes that “the recent data from the National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania (BAKITA) in 2004 estimated that 99% of Tanzanian can speak Kiswahili, the National Language, without problems (Masato, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2007)”.

project of Tanzania's socialist post-colonial government. It was seen as essential in the effort to achieve social equity.

Ironically, the UNESCO³ and World Bank program 'Education for all' is actually encouraging the growth of private schools and thus working against the Tanzanian goal of free schooling for all. According to Moshi Kimizi (2007) the concept of universal, basic education has been reemphasized all over the world through the program "Education for All", developed in 1990 by the World Bank, other donor organizations and supported by international institutions such as UNESCO. This concept "Education for All" encourages developing countries such as Tanzania to enroll all primary-aged children in schools (MoEVT⁴, 2008). Since the World Bank began pushing Tanzania to privatize, many language policies on curriculum and language have been changed (Brock-Utne, 2006). More schools have been built, but the majority of these have been private, English language schools. Since poverty is growing in Tanzania, the growth in private schooling benefits does not reach the majority of the population.

An important research focus in this study has been to investigate why this trend to privatization and the choice of English-based instruction is taking place. Parents and children are choosing English schools even if neither they nor their children understand English. Most parents do not understand the implications for their children of studying in a language that is not their own. As referenced above, there are a large number of studies which indicate that the language used most frequently as a child, will be the one in which she or he can best understand and be understood. But this obvious choice is discontinued in public schools beyond grade seven and earlier for students who enter private English language schools. My main focus in this research has been to examine why politicians, educators and parents either encourage or allow the trend towards using English in education to flourish.

³ UNESCO: United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

⁴ MoEVT: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

1.2 Research questions

The central question addressed in this research project is why Kiswahili, the obvious choice of language of instruction, is not made in secondary and tertiary education and why Private Medium schools in English language are increasing?

Other related questions are:

1. Does Kiswahili contribute to quality learning in Tanzania?
2. Why do all the private schools choose to use English rather than Kiswahili as a Language of Instruction at primary level? (How many children are in private primary schools in Tanzania and what percentage of Tanzanian children is in such schools? Is the percentage growing and if yes, how fast and where? How much do parents pay in these schools?)
3. What is the government policy concerning the language of instruction at Primary level?
4. Are there international pressures pushing Tanzania towards a private English speaking school system and if so what are they?

1.3 Historical background on politics, language and education in Tanzania

These questions concerning language, education and power have their roots in Tanzanian culture and history. In this section I flesh out the historical and political background relevant to understanding language and education in Tanzania today.

Tanzania is located on the east coast of Africa. Today, its population is about 37 million inhabitants (Semali, 2009)⁵. Tanzania is the biggest of the East African countries; Dodoma is

⁵ The CIES (Comparative and International Education Society) conference was held in Charleston (USA), and the presentation was made on March 24th, 2009 in the “Indigenous knowledge session” from AM 10:00 to 11:30.

the political capital and Dar es Salaam, where my study took place is the commercial capital (URT, 2009)⁶.



Figure nr.1: Map of Tanzania⁷

Commercial trade between the East African coast and the Arabs existed by the 1st century AD. Kiswahili became the trade language, and Zanzibar, an Island which was later to be incorporated into Tanzania was a major trading hub for East Africa. Kiswahili, the national

⁶ URT: United Republic of Tanzania (2009) website. <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/educationf.html> (retrieved the 29/03/2009).

⁷ http://www.btepgirls.org/Images/MAP_OF_TANZANIA.gif (retrieved the 30/03/2009).

language of Zanzibar has its roots in East African languages but about one-third of its vocabulary is derived from Arabic (URT, 2009).

An epoch of colonial imperialism began with the German colonial administration initiated in 1884. The German government set up a separate Colonial Department in Tanganyika, the former name for Tanzania mainland (Tanzania is the name given after Tanganyika and Zanzibar united)⁸ in 1907 and the German administration encouraged the development of schools, an activity in which various missionary societies were already engaged. World War I put an end to the German colonial rule over Tanganyika. The Germans transliterated Kiswahili from the Arabic to Latin script and used Kiswahili as a language of government administration (Brock-Utne, 2005). The British advanced into German territory from 1916 and the whole country was eventually occupied by the British until 1961, when Tanganyika became independent (URT, 2009).

Before colonial invasion, there were well-functioning indigenous political systems and institutions in the form of kingdoms and chiefdoms such as the Maasai Age-set rule, the Nyamwezi people under chief Mirambo, the Hehe under chief Mkwawa and a series of kingdoms among the Chagga and the Haya people (URT, 2009). During the domination of Tanganyika and Zanzibar by the Arabs, Germans and British, the indigenous people lost their cultural identity, were economically exploited and their technology disrupted (URT, 2009).

Before the colonization of Africa, each social group used its own language to educate its children. The issue of a foreign tongue as language of instruction in Africa emerged in the late 1800s with the introduction of 'western education'⁹. During the colonial era (1885-1962), formal education (schooling) was initiated by colonial governments and Christian missionaries. Children began to receive basic education in colonial languages (Kimizi, 2007:1).

⁸ URT (2009) <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/educationf.html> (retrieved the 29/03/2009).

⁹ The 'western education' in this context refers to schooling or formal education with specialized curriculum, syllabus and professional teachers/instructors/trainers.

In his paper presented at the IMPLAN¹⁰ conference, Haroub Othman (2008:2) states:

By the time the British took over Tanganyika, after the end of the First World War, to administer it on behalf of the League of Nations, the Kiswahili language was in widespread use. There were a few pockets where its use was restricted, but it was understood by the majority of the population, and more so in the islands of Zanzibar. In the struggle for independence in both Tanganyika (now Tanzania Mainland) and Zanzibar, Kiswahili played an important role. It was used to mobilize the populace, to raise their political consciousness and to prepare them for self-rule. It was also expected to mobilize them for national development. In fact the widespread use of Kiswahili was one of the factors that brought about national cohesion and unity.

By 1954 the political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was established under the leadership of Julius Kambarage Nyerere. His party led the drive for independence from the British, and finally achieved this in 1961 (URT, 2009). In Zanzibar, the Afro Shirazi Party emerged late in the 1950s and toppled the Arab rule on the island in 1964. Tanganyika and Zanzibar united in that year and formed the United Republic of Tanzania (URT, 2009).

1.3.1 Nyerere's ideas about education

Nyerere¹¹ was elected President of Tanzania in 1962 and retained the office until his retirement in 1985. He was called Mwalimu which means teacher, since he was a well respected school teacher. He had a strong vision of education and social action. In the late 1960s Tanzania was one of the poorest countries in the world. Tanzania was suffering from an enormous foreign debt and had experienced a decrease in foreign aid (Brock-Utne, 2006). One of the key objectives of President Nyerere's development strategy for Tanzania was to ensure that basic social services were available equitably to all members of society. Nyerere

¹⁰ IMPLAN (Implication of Language for Peace and Development) conference organized by students of Birgit Brock-Utne around the main themes she has worked with in her academic careers, to celebrate her birthday and held at the University of Oslo, Faculty of Education on, the 2nd and 3rd of May 2008. A book of the keynotes and some of the many papers is in press. Brock-Utne, Birgit and Gunnar Garbo (eds) (2009) *Language and Power. The Implications of Language for Peace and Development*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota. Oxford: African Books Collective. East Lansing: State University of Michigan Press (in press).

¹¹ URT (2009) <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/educationf.html> (retrieved the 29/03/2009).

was the first Tanzanian to study at a British university and to obtain a university degree outside Africa. He questioned the concept of schooling and understood that colonialism had based the schooling systems in their colonies on “western” educational curricula and concepts. His idea was to rethink the idea of basic schooling in an African context. The collectivisation of agriculture, villagisation (Ujamaa) was a part of his political vision and incorporated his educational philosophy for Tanzania. Ujamaa really means “familyhood” and can be translated as African socialism or socialism built on African roots. He wanted the whole nation to live as a family and to work together towards a common objective. He instituted a unique blend of socialism and a communal-based life (Nyerere, 1967). This vision was set out in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (reprinted in Nyerere 1968).

The objective of socialism in the United Republic of Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace with their neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury (Nyerere, 1968: 340).

According to Nyerere, knowledge should help citizens to achieve respect and freedom. But which kinds of knowledge do we recognise as important in the society? He believed that various forms for local knowledge were important and that the classical, European style education that had been instituted by the British did not account for this (Nyerere, 1967).

In the education sector, his new goals for education were translated into the 1974 Universal Primary Education Movement: to make primary education universally available, compulsory and to provide free of cost to users to ensure it reached the poorest segments of the population (URT, 2009).

1.3.2 Education structure

Today, the structure of the Education system in Tanzania has three levels, Basic, Secondary and Tertiary Levels (URT-Education, 2009:1). The education system consists of:

- Two years of pre-primary education,
- Seven years of primary education,
- Four years of Junior Secondary (ordinary Level),

-
- Two years of Senior Secondary (Advanced Level),
 - Three or more years of Tertiary Education.

The first seven years of primary education are compulsory. This is a carryover from Nyerere's policy. He put emphasis on reducing illiteracy and providing a free basic education to all Tanzanians. He meant this education to be terminal, an education everyone in the country should get. The country would only have funds for a small percentage of primary school leavers to go to secondary education and an even smaller proportion to go to tertiary.

Recent governmental policies open for increased private sector investment in education. "Private investment in education will establish a more learning environment that will allow imparting both knowledge and technology to the youth for a more active participation in the agricultural sector and the economy as a whole" (URT-Education, 2009:1)¹².

Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in primary education while at secondary education English is used as the medium of instruction. Kiswahili is a compulsory subject at the secondary level. In tertiary education, English remains the medium of instruction while Kiswahili is offered as an optional subject.

Looking at the Tanzanian society as a whole, from the 1960s, Kiswahili has been used as the main medium of communication among different ethnic groups and for official matters. After independence, English was still used for some official issues, and was considered one of the official languages together with Kiswahili. Othman (2008:2) argues in his paper "It was hoped that the first act of the independence government would be to declare Kiswahili the official language. But this was not to be. Only in 1967 was Kiswahili declared an official language, with English being also retained". He quotes Massamba (1987) who pointed out:

First, the very fact that Kiswahili was not declared an official language till January 4th, 1967, five years after independence, goes to show that the politicians laid very little emphasis if any, on the use of Kiswahili as a technical language. Furthermore, although Kiswahili was declared an official language English continued to be used as one of the official languages of Tanzania; and to be sure English was more widely used in official business than Kiswahili. As a point of fact Kiswahili was mostly used

¹² URT (2009) <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/educationf.html> (retrieved the 29/03/2009).

as an official language only in political meetings and rallies, because then the so called “masses” would not understand English (1987: 88).

Othman (2008:2) goes on to write that “This might seem to be ‘indecision’ but in fact it was a decision in favor of English”. Nonetheless, the official use of English had diminished strongly in the first thirty years after independence. In the commercial sector, the use of English has increased (Brock-Utne, 2006). This is one of the reasons why many parents want English as the medium of instruction for their children – namely, the hope that it will help them to get jobs or to get into universities. Secondary schools as well as universities use English as the medium of instruction.

1.4 Kiswahili, the African lingua franca

In Tanzania, Kiswahili, English and more than 120 indigenous languages are spoken; the society of Tanzania is undoubtedly multilingual (Roy-Campbell, 1992). As opposed to the majority of African countries, Tanzania has Kiswahili as a unifying African lingua franca (Brock-Utne, 2005). Kiswahili has been occasionally used as working language in UNESCO¹³ meetings as far back as 1986¹⁴. It was however, never made an official working language of the UN¹⁵ or UNESCO.

Kiswahili and English are both Official languages although only English is recognized as such in the constitution. Mollel¹⁶ wrote to me that:

So far, however, Kiswahili has not been pronounced officially as the National Language but plans are underway to incorporate it in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. There shall be incentives to encourage individuals and organizations to publish and disseminate Kiswahili publications (according to National Cultural Policy). Kiswahili is one of the official languages of Tanzania- English is the second official language.

¹³ UNESCO: United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

¹⁴ In a written correspondence received the 18th of March, 2009 by Emanuel Mollel, the Principal Cultural Officer who promotes languages of Tanzania at the Ministry of Culture in Dar es Salaam.

¹⁵ UN: United Nations

¹⁶ In a personal correspondence received the 18th of March, 2009.

English is essential, since it links Tanzania and the rest of the world through technology, commerce and administration (URT, 2009). Othman (2008:6) gives us an example which conveys the language dilemma within the legal system:

I remember an incident in 2007 at the General Meeting of the Zanzibar Law Society where members argued for some time whether the meeting should be conducted in English or Kiswahili. Later the President of the Society ruled that it should be in English since it was the official language of the High Court. Half an hour after the decision was made, nobody was talking in English, and no one protested.

The use of Kiswahili is growing fast, especially due to the many marriages between people belonging to different language-speaking ethnic groups (Puja, 2003, quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005). Kiswahili is often used as the new intra-family language after marriage. About 80 million people in 14 countries in East and Central Africa speak Kiswahili (Masoto, 2004 in Brock-Utne, 2005). Kiswahili is one of the five official languages of the African Union alongside English, French, Portuguese and Arabic (Brock-Utne, 2005). Othman (2008:7) argues that:

Kiswahili is no longer the language of Tanzania or East Africa; it is the language of the entire African continent, having been adopted by the African Union as one of its official languages. When former Mozambican President, Joaquim Chissano (and not the President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa), addressed the African Heads of State Summit for the first time using Kiswahili, the audience warmly applauded.

Language plays a major role in Tanzania's robust media. Most newspapers in Tanzania are in Kiswahili. The public broadcasting service television TVT (Televisheni Ya Taifa) now TBC (Tanzania Broadcasting Cooperation) send most of their programs in Kiswahili. The radio networks of Radio Tanzania Dar-es-Salaam Radio, RTD are also State-run and use Kiswahili. It is important to note that from 2007 the state has owned both TVT and RTD. They are both very popular and are both under the umbrella of Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation. However privately owned media are more important, since they control more than 11 daily newspapers, over 6 television stations and more than 6 FM radio stations. One of them, RFA (Radio Free Africa) reaches the Great lakes Region Congo DRC, Rwanda and even Burundi. This shows the importance of cross border languages.¹⁷ As Brock Utne (2007:511) writes:

¹⁷ www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/Tanzania.html - 43k (retrieved the 29/03/2009).

Language is a living instrument of culture, so that, from this point of view, language development is paramount. But language is also an instrument of communication, in fact the only complete and the most important instrument as such. Language usage therefore is of paramount importance also for social and economical development (ED-82:111).

The language dilemma is still a subject of intense debate. Othman (2008) formulates the central question this way; “Why is a country like Tanzania, which was in the forefront of Africa’s liberation struggle, which proclaimed the *Arusha Declaration* that ushered in its own development path and which in its policy documents and proclamations wanted the people to be the masters of their own destiny, unable to resolve this language problem (2008:6)?” This is consistent with Brock-Utne’s (2005:62) assessment that “The language in education policy in Tanzania from the 1990s can best be described by words like confusing, contradictory and ambiguous”.

1.4.1 The involvement of transnational actors in language and education

During the 1960s-1980s, the international donor community was deeply involved in providing assistance to the socialist government of Julius Nyerere. Alonso i Terme (2002) argues that in the late 1980s and the 1990s, the donor community went from over-enthusiasm to over-pessimism about the situation and future prospects of Tanzania. Only 41 percent of foreign-funded education expenditure was devoted to primary education. Alonso i Terme (2002:6) writes that as a result of the elimination of user fees for primary education in Tanzania, “The regressive nature of government spending on education was aggravated”. Some bilateral donors supported the elimination of school fees. However Alonso I Terme (2002:7) writes that other bilateral donors as well as the World Bank felt that school fees should not be eliminated and would be unsustainable in the long term. They were worried that the elimination of fees would undermine parents’ participation and their school involvement. She writes that the elimination of user fees was a condition in a USD 150 million project loan provided by the World Bank (with other donors) in order to enable the preparation of a Primary Education Development Program (PEDP). The bilateral donors were committed to include their individual projects into the PEDP.

The PEDP, 2002-2006 has been renewed to PEDP II from 2007 to 2011. However, the document was not available in English at the MoEVT during the time of my fieldwork in October/November 2008. Many government officials suggested that I look for the English version on the MoEVT website at the beginning of 2009. As of 24 of April 2009, it was still not available. Another important factor which has to be taken into consideration is that “The Primary Education Development Program calculates that, over the next three years, the financing gap created by the sector reform, including the additional enrolment resulting from the elimination of user fees, will amount to USD 450 million” (Alonso i Terme, 2002:7).

1.5 The LOITASA study

The LOITASA project has clearly demonstrated that Kiswahili is a sustainable quality learning tool in education. This master thesis research has been a part of the LOITASA project, initiated in 2001 to study language and educational issues in South Africa and Tanzania. The LOITASA project leader in Norway is Professor Brock-Utne from the Institute of Educational Research, University of Oslo and the project leader in Tanzania was Professor Galabawa from the Bureau of Educational Research, University of Dar es Salaam¹⁸. The aim of the LOITASA project is as described by Brock-Utne (2007:512) “To build up research competence in the South and to study the effects of having as a language of instruction a language which is unfamiliar to the students and not well mastered by the teachers”.

The first phase of the LOITASA project from 2001 through 2006 had the Language of Instruction in secondary schools in focus. LOITASA is described in a DVD/video as well as in five books (Brock-Utne, et al., 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2009). Its conclusions were that students performed better when they are taught in a familiar language and suggested that Kiswahili should be used in post primary education as well as in higher education. The second phase of the project started its pilot study in 2007 and will continue until 2012, comparing the resource gap between private primary schools (PPS) and government primary schools (GPS) and the effects of using English as the language of instruction

¹⁸ From the summer of 2009 Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo will take over this position (Brock-Utne, 2009).

This thesis builds on the findings of the LOITASA project and focuses on the political questions of why Kiswahili is not used as a language of instruction beyond primary grades and why there is a growth in English language private schools.

1.6 On a personal note: My motivation for conducting the study

Language issues in learning have been addressed in a number of countries and a harmonization of languages has been accomplished in some countries. I will give two examples, Norwegian since it is the language of the country in which I am living, and Berber (North Africa) since it is my mother tongue. Language issues in Norway have been the source of serious debates but an acceptance of language diversity has been achieved. Norway provides an interesting case history with the unification of dialects, the use of two national languages Bokmål and Nynorsk, and in addition the use of Sami as language of instruction in schools¹⁹. Norway has had a history of language oppression when it comes to the Sami language, the language of the autochthonous people of Scandinavia. However, Sami has been recognized as one of the official language of Norway's native peoples and allowed to be used as language of instruction in Sami schools. The Sami language is spoken officially today in 7 municipalities of Norway²⁰

Norway with its many distinct dialects as managed to create two written Norwegian languages with equal recognition, Bokmål and Nynorsk. The 400 years of Danish rule in Norway brought a Dano-Norwegian language, an elite language, which replaced Norwegian. Danish was used in the royal court, government and among the elites of Southern Norway. A Danish orthography gave place to a standard language named Riksmål, which became later officially Bokmål in 1929. However Nynorsk was developed in 1850 as a spoken language, which was acknowledged by the parliament in 1885. In 1892 Nynorsk was able to be used as the language of primary instruction²¹

¹⁹ www.reisenett.no/norway/facts/culture_science/sami.html - 32k (retrieved the 4th of April 2009).

²⁰ www.reisenett.no/norway/facts/culture_science/sami.html - 32k (retrieved the 4th of April 2009).

²¹ www.norway.org.uk/facts/people/language/ - 15k (retrieved the 4th of April, 2009).

Berber²² is a group of closely related languages spoken in the country of my parents, Algeria. The Berber people speak a dialect according to their tribe but were divided geographically when nation states were created under the French colonial rule. Berber-speaking groups are living not only in Algeria, but in Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Mauritania²³. However, today there is a strong movement among speakers of the closely related languages in northern Africa who want to unite the language as a standard language called “Thamazigh”²⁴. While I was growing up, even though I did not live in Algeria, the fight that was taking place over language injustice there concerned me deeply. I remember on my first visit to my family in Algeria in 1988, trying to buy a dictionary in Berber. The salesperson in the book shop told me that I would have to buy it in Paris. It was not available in Algeria. I had originally considered focusing my research on language and education in Algeria, but decided that it would involve a confrontation with strong emotions and a struggle with deeply held feelings. I decided to focus the research in Tanzania, where my research on language and education would be detached from my personal history.

1.7 My introduction to the issue of language in Tanzania

I was introduced to the language issues in Tanzania through lectures by Professor Birgit Brock-Utne, in the first semester of my Master studies at the University of Oslo, in October 2007. She has been working with the issue of Language of Instruction in Tanzania since the 1980s. I remember asking her why Tanzania is using English and not Kiswahili as a Medium of Instruction from secondary school and she answered “That is a good question, why don’t you go and find out?” If so many studies show that Kiswahili is a language that 99% of Tanzanians understand while only 5% understand English (Kimizi, 2007), why do Tanzanians choose English as a medium of instruction in secondary schooling?

Months later, when I departed for my field work. I flew to Tanzania on Kenyan airlines flight. I was really looking forward to practicing Kiswahili, the language I had been studying the last three months before my departure. Since I was flying with Kenyan Airline, an

²² www.al-bab.com/arab/background/berber.htm (retrieved the 4th of April 2009).

²³ www.al-bab.com/arab/background/berber.htm (retrieved the 4th of April 2009).

²⁴ www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/Berber.html (retrieved the 4th of April 2009).

African airline, I was looking forward to watch a movie in Kiswahili. I assumed that movies in Kiswahili would be offered, since it is one of the national languages of Kenya. However, I was to find that movies in Kiswahili were not available. The only languages available were French and English. I asked the flight attendant why there were no movies in Kiswahili and she responded that no one had ever asked her that before, but she was happy to get the question, being a Kiswahili speaker herself. She told me to talk to the purser, who later told me that the reason for this is that there are not enough passengers who speak Kiswahili, and it would be costly to provide movies in Kiswahili. They therefore offer movies only in English and French. I could understand English being offered, but not French since as the purser confirmed, it is not extensively spoken in Kenya. He was happy to hear that I was learning Kiswahili, which he told me was a common language in several countries on the East coast of Africa. This raised the question for me as to why Kiswahili would not be used by the airline; especially since their logo is “Kenyan Airlines, the pride of Africa”. When I pointed this out to the purser, he answered that was a very good question. He noted my comment and said he would suggest offering at least one movie in Kiswahili or a movie subtitled or dubbed in Kiswahili. My field work began at that moment. I got the first piece of evidence that English and French were still the dominant languages in Africa. I changed flights in Nairobi and took another African airline named Precision Air, a Tanzanian airline, to Dar es Salaam. The flight was too short to offer a movie; therefore I used the time to browse through the in-flight magazine PAA (Swahili for fly). I was happy to discover that it was a bilingual magazine. It was actually the first bilingual issue of PAA. The CEO Alfonse M. Kioko (2008:1) wrote that:

This is the first in-flight magazine in the country and perhaps the world as a whole, to feature both Kiswahili and English languages. Traditionally Tanzania’s in flight magazines have been published in English, despite the fact that Kiswahili is spoken widely by most air travelers and is also one of our national languages alongside English.

This discovery was an introduction to the ambivalence to the use of Kiswahili that would come up time and again during my fieldwork in Tanzania.

1.8 Limitations of the study

In any research project, one has to deal with constraints and limitations. The main limitation in my research was a lack of time in the field. Transportation problems contributed to the time squeeze. I was to discover that moving around Dar es Salaam and arranging meetings and interviews were time consuming. The transportation system is very slow and I had to take taxis since renting a car was too expensive. I had therefore to limit my trips from the University to the downtown area where the ministries and most of the NGO's are located.

Time constraints were also partly responsible for an inability to meet all of the government officials I had intended to interview. For example, I would have liked to talk more with a Government Officer who worked with a new project on implementing English. Since there was not sufficient time to meet with this Government Officer, I was unable to incorporate the experiences with that project into my research.

I would have liked to have talked more to teachers in a period of the year when exams were not taking place. I found out that the final results of the exams would be available in January and an officer at NECTA's office told me that he would have helped me to see some exams very relevant to language issues, if it was not in the busy exam period.

Another limitation was that I found it difficult to ask parents their salaries in order to compare it to the size of the school fees. In the end, I reformulated my question and asked parents if they felt the fees were difficult to pay. However, I did get some straight answers about salaries which indicated the relative size of fees in relation to incomes. Another limitation on gathering information was the noise levels in the schools. I could hardly find a quiet place to interview the teachers, parents and pupils. I had to use the teachers' room where people were constantly coming in and out. A teacher suggested that I carry out my interview with her in the hallway but the noise from the classroom still made it difficult to hear clearly.

1.9 Significance of the study

Evidence from many cultural settings indicates that a child learns best when she or he understands the language of instruction (Brock-Utne, 2007; Makelela, 2005; Qorro, 2004;

Prah, 2003, Vuzo 2007). Teaching in the local language contributes to continuity in the learning process and reduces drop outs. Therefore the critical question is why the learners are not taught in the language they understand best from entry into secondary school level and onwards?

An underlying assumption of this study is that the language of Instruction has to be taken seriously if one wants to achieve quality education. There are good reasons for asserting that the language that the child uses in her/his surroundings should be used as a language of instruction.

What I have hoped to answer in my research is whether and in which way the language of instruction is important in learning and whether Rubagumya's (2008) comment at the IMPLAN conference is correct: "Language is not everything in Education, but without Language, Everything is nothing in Education" (quoted from Wolff, 2006:51). Through the IMPLAN conference, I have learned much about the dilemma of a country in Africa, which is struggling to introduce a local language in schools from primary to university. There is a wealth of evidence which indicates that this improves the quality of learning. Therefore the question I attempt to answer in this thesis is why Tanzania is not implementing the compulsory use of a local language in schools? In this thesis I identify the barriers and impediments to using Kiswahili, their lingua franca, in secondary schools in Tanzania, and to understand why private English-language schooling is growing, a development that reinforces the trend towards using English and which negatively impacts on the educational rights for poor and marginalized children. The results of the study should be of interest for policy makers, academicians, NGOs and Tanzanians of all walks of life.

1.10 Structure of the thesis

In Chapter two, I discuss the theoretical framework for the research as well as provide a literature review on language and education. I draw on sources from several parts of the world; however my main focus is Africa. In Chapter three, I present the research methodology that I used in the study. I explain the preparation for the field and my field work. I discuss the method, the data collection procedure and the sampling techniques then

conclude the chapter with thoughts on the validity of my study. I have presented the interview guides as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

In Chapter four, I give my main findings from the research. In Chapter five, I summarize the thesis and provide recommendations for policy as well as suggestions for further research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the theoretical framework that forms the basis for my analysis of language, education and politics in Tanzania. There is no single theory which encompasses the complex web represented by the epistemological, social and political questions embedded in studies of language and education. Some of the strands of theory which have been important for framing this study are the role of education in society, the role of language in education and the knowledge embedded in local identity and culture.

I will draw heavily on the work of three educational theorists. The first is Julius Nyerere and his theory on self reliance, developed and applied in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. As I will explore in the next chapter, his theory no longer governs educational policy in Tanzania, but I will argue nevertheless that it has relevance today in Tanzania's efforts to achieve equal access and fairness in Education. The second theory important to the study is Paulo Freire's theory on pedagogy. It is very relevant to the Tanzanian context today, since he raises questions about formal versus informal learning and the role of schooling in education. Finally, I have used Birgit Brock-Utne's theories on the role of language in education, expounded in her article "*Education for All- in whose language?*"(2001), and in her book "*Whose Education for All*" (2006). Her theory on the role of language in schooling is especially relevant because it was developed for the Tanzanian context. Her perspectives draw on Nyerere and Freire's theories and apply them to issues of language and learning in Tanzania.

2.2 Education, Schooling and Language in Tanzania

Education has also to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgments on all the issues affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made by through the democratic institutions of our society (...) The education provided must therefore encourage the

development in each citizen of three things: an inquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of society (Nyerere, 1968:52-53).

2.2.1 What is education?

If education is conceived of as imparting knowledge about the world, then schooling should be regarded as only one aspect of education, since it does not cover all forms of knowledge. The living experience outside the school gives another type of knowledge. School learning can be learning stripped of context and therefore students may not see the significance of what they learn. According to Freire, much of the knowledge that forms the basis for schooling has its origins from another place and another time: “Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention” (Freire, 1993:53). The students who catch on to this form of learning will be successful in school, but might actually have less knowledge in the broad sense of the word than one who does not attend school. As Kabir²⁵ writes, “Education should be integrated with life and built up round some socially useful activity like a craft” (1955:52 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002b:47). People acquire knowledge to understand the world and to live a better life.

Furthermore Freire (1993:65) writes that “Indeed, in contrast to other animals who are unfinished, but not historical, people know themselves to be unfinished; they are aware of their incompleteness”. To be complete, people everywhere want to develop, to be modern and to improve their prospects of getting jobs. It seems that the schooling institution has been defined in this way from the time when education was institutionalized.

Knowledge helps one to understand the past as well as to understand how to take one’s place in society. However education is most often equated with schooling. In Africa there are many examples of this equation, for instance in 1954 when D. H. MacIntosh (1958) was appointed as the Educational Officer in Uganda. He argued that education should equip pupils for life after school, but this education should be based on formal, classic principles. . He wrote that “if we can undermine the mentality of the “Bush”...then there is some hope for the future of education” (MacIntosh, 1958: 468 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002b:56). Brock-Utne (2002b:56-57) points out MacIntosh believed that “Africans are able to learn both Shakespearean plays, poetry by British authors and to enjoy Italian opera. He never asks whether the cultural

²⁵ Deputy leader of the Indian delegation at the Third General Conference of UNESCO in 1948.

heritage of Ugandan people ought to be studied in school or whether schools in Britain might have something to learn from African history, culture and music”. Another example is an interesting article mentioned by Carel Krügel by Oberholzer²⁶ (1959, quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002). The article describes how formal education was brought to the Bantu by missionaries and called Bantu education, whereas in fact it was education for the Bantu. Brock-Utne (2002b:49) quotes Oberholzer (1959:138) who writes that:

By taking the control of the Bantu educational system out of the hands of the provinces and placing it in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs a uniform educational policy, consistent with the general policy of the country has been introduced.

However the content of education was not different. Brock-Utne, 2002b:49) writes that “the blacks were given the task of participating in the control and administration of the Bantu education scheme, but not of participating in deciding on the content of this education. They were also asked to pay for their own education at a time when the Government paid for the education of white children”.

The language issue in Tanzania is deeply related to this conceptualisation of education and the debate around whether or not education should encompass the local cultural context. According to Freire and others, including Brock-Utne, using a local language as medium of education fosters the broader view of learning which softens the barriers between lived experience and classroom experience.

2.2.2 Education for Self-Reliance and liberation

The more education a person received, the higher was his or her expected responsibility to society. Education for Self Reliance was closely related to the understanding of Tanzania as a ‘poor, underdeveloped, and agricultural economy’ (Nyerere, 1966 quoted in Buchert, 1994:95).

Nyerere was an educational theorist who insisted on a rethinking of the relationship between general education and formal schooling. He wrote that:

We have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of Independence. We have never done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as training for

²⁶ From the University of Pretoria in South Africa.

the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy (Nyerere, 1968:267).

In line with the ideas of Freire, Nyerere believed that schooling should be an integral part of the daily life and not be separate from it. Schooling should address both the needs of the local people and the country. An example of this thinking is that learning about agricultural livelihoods should be incorporated into schooling. Children study better with a full stomach. Knowledge and participation in agriculture will equip people to fight hunger and to achieve a better life. Nyerere's idea was that the Tanzanian economy would also benefit from this merging of livelihood-based knowledge with classical education. His vision of integrating local economy and local education were seen as a way of resolving many of the problems of colonisation and one-way development. Designing education in a way that accounts for local culture, language and life patterns would also bring back autonomy and pride in the country. After his educational reforms were put into place and he wrote that:

Our national songs and dances are once again being learned by our children; our national language has been given the importance in our curriculum which it needs and deserves...changes have been introduced to make our educational system more relevant to our needs (Nyerere, 1968:49).

Nyerere was clear on the point that one country should not depend on another to educate its citizens. He advocated that the developing countries of the world need to build their own school curricula. This freedom for Tanzania to define its own educational philosophy and system would help Tanzanians to achieve respect and freedom. This would also inspire local pride and cultural learning. Nyerere emphasized that urban and rural areas have different needs. According to Ki-Zerbo, an historian from Burkina Faso, these points about cultural learning and local needs have not been adequately addressed in Africa. He wrote that "For African societies, education lost its functional role" (Ki-Zerbo 1990, quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002a:2). The problem today is that African countries are adopting the standards of the World. As Albert Memmi (1965:105) describes so well in his book:

The history which is taught him is not his own. He knows who Colbert is Cromwell was, but he learns nothing about Khaznadar, he knows about Joan of Arc, but not about El Kahena. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country...In other words, with reference to what he is not: to Christianity, although he is not a Christian; to the West which ends under his nose, at a line which is even more insurmountable than it is imaginary.

Nyerere (1968:47) wrote that "Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and the knowledge of Tanzania society from one generation to the

next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society”. This transmission of values and knowledge was used as a way of dominating traditional peoples. Brock-Utne (2007:497) argues that with European-based, classical education “The students learn to obey, be quiet, to become indifferent and apathetic”. To motivate the active mind, one has to take into consideration the variations in different societies, differences in knowledge and different ways of teaching to achieve quality education. We have to underline that the knowledge one learns in school is only one contribution to a complete education. Equally important is that local curricula incorporate the country’s own values and traditions. If “teachers and administrators are refusing to change the curriculum that alienates students” (Shor and Freire, 1987:5).

The experiences of Catherine Odora, who went to primary school in Uganda in the years before her country achieved independence from Britain, provide a perfect example of how colonialists of Africa exploited the locals through the imposition of European culture and history in local education. Odora (1993:3, quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002:4) recounts how local people were taught to believe that a local waterfall was discovered by Europeans, even though the waterfall was known to the village for many generations and was a part of local folklore. Odora adds that the teacher felt very uncomfortable teaching the children something that she knew was not true. It neglects local context and local people’s rights to their own indigenous histories.

The purpose of education for Nyerere (1974) is summed up in the following quote:

To liberate the African from the mentality of slavery and colonialism by making him aware of himself as an equal member of the human race, with the rights and duties of his humanity. It [had] to liberate him from the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce (d) his dignity as if they were immutable. And it ha[d] to liberate him from the shackles of technical ignorance so that he [could] make and use the tools of organisation and creation for the development of himself and his fellow men (Nyerere, 1974 quoted by Buchert, 1994:96).

Sheila Aikman writes that this empowering aspect of local-based education can contribute to an increase in respect for local language and local values. She wrote that “indigenous peoples also consider that education can play a part in promoting a positive and respectful attitude towards their languages through education policies which actively promote indigenous language maintenance” (1995:411). Her view is that language and culture has to be protected and respected.

Freire proposed a similar theory about the importance of local knowledge and its relationship to empowerment:

The peasant feels inferior to the boss because the boss seems to be the only one who knows things and is able to run things (Words of a peasant during an interview with Freire). They call themselves ignorant and say the “professor” is the one who has knowledge and to whom they should listen. The criteria of knowledge imposed upon them are the conventional ones (Freire, 1993:45).

In Freire’s view, the imposition of a European- curriculum on people in developing countries represents a form for repression. The curriculum should aim at furthering local knowledge and reducing the hierarchical nature of teaching. If true openness to knowledge is to be achieved, the idea of the teacher-knows-best and the submissive student must be abandoned. He further argues that:

The teacher talks about reality as if it was motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable...his task is to “fill” the students with the contents of his narration totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienated verbosity (Freire, 1993:52).

It is important to impart knowledge in ways that inspires free thinking and empowers students. Having students memorize information by heart should not be the basis for a curriculum. “Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information” (Freire, 1993:60). Every society should liberate its educational system, not by transferring knowledge but by inspiring people to think of ways to achieve a better life.

2.2.3 The role of schooling

Teaching in a classroom is a very practical activity, even though everything in the classroom is the tip of a theoretical iceberg (Shor Ira and Paulo Freire, 1987:2).

Even though education encompasses much more than schooling, schooling is nonetheless central to knowledge acquisition and primary schooling was formally accepted as a human right more than 50 years ago (Colclough, 1993). In many parts of the world, schooling has been seen as one of the most important institutions in our society (Cummins, 2003). The lives of adults and children everywhere revolve around the school. The modern school curriculum has been mainly developed in economically developed countries. Western

countries have adapted their structures and their curriculum according to the needs of their societies (Cummins, 2003). Thus to achieve this modern institution an educational structure and curriculum have been developed by politicians and educators. McGinn (1997) argues that teachers and principals should be given more control in curriculum development since learning takes place in schools. However, in most cases “Knowledge is produced in a place far from the students” (Shor Ira and Paulo Freire, 1987: 8). However “students are used to the transfer-of-knowledge. The official curriculum asks them to submit to texts, lecture, and tests, to habituate them to submitting to authority” (Shor and Freire, 1987:11). Schools all over the Western world physically divide teachers and students. Teacher formation is fairly uniform “The students do not believe the liberating teacher who does not shove information down their throats” (Shor and Freire, 1987:10).

Modern curricula have been posed as the best way for students to acquire basic education. The basic curriculum prioritizes the learning of reading, writing and counting. Evaluations are periodically conducted in order for teachers to assess whether the learning process has been achieved. Another important aspect of schooling is tutoring, which takes place after school. This usually requires families to pay fees and this creates differences among students. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1977:89) “the unequal likelihood of extra-curricular work among the different categories of students” can explain why some students do better than others. In the case of Tanzania, extra-curricular school learning is almost exclusively done through private tuition. Those who can afford this are more likely to be successful in school and to be awarded by performing better on tests and other forms for evaluation. The argument is that:

The dominant curriculum treats motivation as outside the action of study. Test, discipline, punishment, rewards, the promise of future jobs, are considered motivating devices, alienated from the act of learning now. In the same way, one definition of ‘literacy’ is ‘basic skills’ separate from serious materials of study, separate from issues of critical value to students. First learn the skills, and then you can get a real education! First get a real education and then you can get a good job! The best thing is always the thing you are not doing (Shor and Freire, 1987:5).

These curricula tend to have similar content and structure. However Ki-Zerbo (1990:15 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002:6) reminds us of the fact that well before the other continents, Africa (e.g. Egypt, the “Universities of Northern Sahel” etc.) was a producer of education and of teaching systems:

It is forgotten, all too often, that Africa was the first continent to know literacy and to institute a school system. Thousands of years before the Greek letters alpha and beta, roots of the world alphabet, were invented, and before the use of the Latin word *schola*, from which the world school derives, the scribes of ancient Egypt wrote, read, administrated, and philosophized using papyrus.

The world is made of different cultures, with different languages and different needs. The cultural context should therefore be taken into consideration in the structures and in the curricula of basic education. Every continent seems to adapt to their context, except Africa, which is still using European languages and European curricula in most of the continent. Catherine Odora (1993:3) gives many examples of how her schooling was influenced by a European-based curriculum, for example how teachers spent weeks training the Ugandan kids to sing: “Auld Lang Syne”, “London’s Burning” and “Land of the Silver Birch, Home of the Beavers”.

The teaching of local values and culture can best be facilitated in a dialogue between teacher and students. Many Tanzanian teachers feel that this dialogue is hampered by the use of a non-local language in the classroom. According to Mary Mkwizu (2003:10) an experienced teacher, very few Tanzanian students get the opportunity to engage in a good dialogue with their teachers due to this language barrier:

As a result, teaching is dominated by lecturing (while students just listen) and transfer of notes from chalkboard to their exercise books...interaction becomes minimal because both the teaching methods being employed are the language of instruction. Often the teaching methods employed are the only ones teachers can use when neither they nor the students have an adequate grasp of the language of instruction.

Classroom models have been different in developing countries from those in western countries. Edward C. Jandy’s (1947/48 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2008b: 48) description of schooling in Ethiopia is relevant in Tanzania today:

I have entered some class-room where the only text available was in the instructor’s hands. Sometimes there were two text-books for the whole class-room. In the best schools there were rarely more than a text for every two pupils...Add to all the above classroom situation the fact that the pupils had to learn in a foreign language (English) from foreign text books, with illustrative material alien to their own culture, and you get a dramatic picture of the crucial nature of the educational process for both pupils and instructors.

The LOITASA team has been looking at the problem of a lack of materials and the second phase of the project will continue this study until 2012, by comparing the resource gap between private primary schools (PPS) and government primary schools (GPS). In the

following section, I pursue Jandy's point on the problems with using a foreign language (English) as a language of instruction.

2.3 Language in education

Transmitting in a language which is little or not at all understood, the teacher logically ought not to understand what his students send back to him...suspects he is less than perfectly understood, can, so long as his status authority is not contested, blame his students when he does not understand their utterances (Bourdieu, 1977:111).

The LOITASA team has focussed on an important question: What do children actually learn in the schools in Africa today when they are forced to try to acquire knowledge in a language they do not understand? Their conclusion is that children should have the possibility to learn through the language with which they are most familiar (Brock-Utne, 2002:55). Brock-Utne quotes the African socio-linguist Maurice Tadajeu who argues for a trilingual model in his book, *Voie Africaine. Esquisse du Communautarisme Africain*, "For many children in developing countries this would mean using and developing their mother tongue first, then learning a more regional language and then an international language" (2002:55).

2.3.1 Local language

Any local African language that the children already know is still better compared to the use of a foreign language (Makalela 2005:165).

Local languages have been re-emerging in some parts of the world over the past twenty years. Some countries have changed their language policies and teach in local languages, for example Catalan, in South of France and in Catalonia in Spain. In most of Europe, the fear of divisiveness resulting from the use of a local (non-national) language has been strong and therefore European countries have generally refused not only to support education in local languages, but also to refuse to support the existence local cultures as well.

Adreski quoted in Prah (2005:32) argues that "In Africa, the use of a non-African language as an official language, such as French, Portuguese or English isolates the elite from the "commonality of society" in similar way that the use of French in eighteenth century did in Europe". Prah (2005:32) argues furthermore that:

Having English, Portuguese or French as the official language prevents the development and a crystallisation of a national consciousness because the graduates have no vested interest in anything that could be called national culture.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, African languages were broken up into dialects. Much of the work of classifying and dividing was done by missionaries (Makalela, 2005) and was supported by the colonial authorities. These divisions weakened the language. Makalela (2005:151) calls it the “de-Africanisation through displacement of African languages.” Doke observes that:

The period concerning about 1830 down to the present day became a period of intensive monograph study of the Bantu languages, a period in which almost all the research and recording work was done by the missionaries (1993:34 quoted by Makalela, 2005:151).

Makalela (2005) looks at the case of the language of South Africa and argues that the transcription of seTswana and isiXhosa, made respectively by missionaries such as Isaac Hughes (1789-1870) and Andrew Spaarman (1747-1820) has lead to them being wrongly defined as different local languages. He argues that “African languages are not so different as to impede communication, as it is canonically assumed” (2005:166) and a harmonisation of language ought to be made. However Makalela (2005:168) notes that:

The notion of harmonisation is often misinterpreted to mean that some African languages will be killed and that people will lose their languages and identities... But as Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) rightly put it, this process of harmonisation does not take anything away from the speakers, but rather adds... a core written standard for literacy, which learners from different languages acquire at school while retaining their home or spoken varieties.

If local languages were harmonized this would help to protect traditions through stories, myths, and songs.

Makalela (2005) argues that children taught in either of the language varieties similar to their mother tongue are better off in their learning comprehension than those taught in an adopted foreign language like English, whose morphology denotes a competition of regular and irregular structures. Prah said at the 2008 IMPLAN conference “Europeans learn in European languages, Americans learn in American languages, Asians learn in Asian languages therefore why not Africans? It will be an advantage to fulfil themselves as human being and the language of the oppressor in the mouth of the oppressed is the language of the slave”.

2.3.2 Multilingualism

Most Africans are multilingual (Brock-Utne, 2007); they may master several mother tongues, a national language and a foreign language. As Kimizi (2009:16) writes “it has been disclosed that it is not easy for some children to identify their mother tongue, L1, and/or L2 as used in the European context”. Brock-Utne argues that:

Tanzania is a multilingual country. Most of Tanzanians speak several of the languages of Tanzania. But in contrast to most countries in Africa Tanzania has a unifying African language, Kiswahili²⁷ which is understood and spoken as either first or second language by almost 95% of the population (Batido, 1995, p.68 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2007:488).

However multilingualism can be viewed on two different levels. Some languages have greater status than others. Some language theorists would say that some languages are more respected than others. The languages of economically dominant countries tend to have a more powerful place in the world than in the lesser developed countries. Furthermore Brock-Utne argues:

The spread of English is as an effect of so-called ‘globalisation’ (market-driven, capital-led ‘reforms’). The value of English as ‘linguistic capital’ often goes unquestioned despite its limited usefulness for the majority of the people (Bruthiaux 2002; Benson, 2004 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005:77).

The attitude towards multilingualism has changed as certain languages, such as English acquire value and become economic tools. Therefore to learn a language is an investment “within the glotto-economics model that sees language choice within the framework of economic choice” (Makalela, 2005:159).

At the same time that some languages acquire value, other languages are neglected or underestimated, without accounting for the consequences of this devaluation for those who speak them. To learn a language facilitates an understanding of oneself and an understanding of others. How can we achieve the valuation of all languages? One of the barriers to this is a myth that bilingualism is the source of learning problems. Brock-Utne (2002:54) referred to:

²⁷ Quoted in Brock-Utne as a footnote: Kiswahili is the name of the language and the word “Swahili” is an adjective. Thus we have “Swahili” culture and Swahili speakers, but the language is Kiswahili. But in most books written during colonialism, the word “Swahili” is used to refer to the language (Puja, 2003). The African linguists working at CASAS (Center for Advanced Study of African Society) in Cape Town have decided to write KiSwahili in the same way as they write isiXhosa (see e.g. Brock-Utne and Hopson (Eds.), 2005.)

The conference in Luxembourg where most researchers seem to think the development of intelligence in a child would be delayed should the child have to cope with two languages...when 200 000 pupils were tested in Mexico the bilingual children did not do any worse than the monolingual ones.

Research shows that bilingualism actually helps children to learn other languages, an example being Brock-Utne's finding that "bilingual children can more easily pick up a third and a fourth language" (2002: 54). Learning several languages can be easily done but "full mastery of one's own language is a necessary condition for mastery of the second and so on" (Makalela, 2005:160). The child will acquire a better understanding and will "transfer to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own" (Vygotsky, 1962:110 quoted by Makalela, 2005:160).

There is a difference between learning a second language and learning in a second language. This point is made by Sunil Loona (1996:3) when he writes that "Learning a second language does not imply the development of a totally new perspective, but rather the expansion of perspectives that children already possess." In schooling, the language of instruction is a tool through which students achieve new perspectives. According to Loona (1996) learning in one's mother tongue allows for better learning of all subjects including the study of a second language. It is important to make the point that learning in a language and learning a language have two different functions, and to combine these functions will slow and possibly stop the process of learning (Qorro, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2005). This difference has to be taken into account. Learning in a language that is clearly understood by the child makes it easy for her or him to expand their perspectives: "Children can best learn a subject matter when the content is conveyed through mother tongue or the language the learners are most competent in" (Makalela, 2005:163). Another important point is that a child learns best in a language close to her surroundings, culture, and identity. "Further work gleaned from the Experimental World Literacy Programmed (UNESCO/UNDP 1976) shows that literacy was more effective when the language used was closer to that of everyday speech" (Makalela, 2005:163). Bamgbose's agrees, writing that "the use of another language which he [the child] already speaks as a second language is to be preferred to that of a language completely foreign to his [or her] community" (Bamgbose, 1976b:15 quoted in Makalela, 2005:164).

The learning of a foreign language will be better, and the learning process will be easier "if they are taught the language as a school subject and are allowed to use a more familiar language to learn subject matter" (Brock-Utne, 2005:69). Brock-Utne argues that in Tanzania

“Some acquire Kiswahili before learning the “first²⁸” mother tongue, while others acquire Kiswahili simultaneously with their respective ethnic community languages” (Rubanza, 1979; Mochiwa, 1979; Mekacha, 1995, 1997 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2007:488). She goes on to argue that “using a foreign language as a medium of instruction makes the language a barrier for learning subject matter” (Brock-Utne, 2005:69).

2.3.3 Mother tongue and knowledge acquisition

Because home-language literacy means taking the child from the known to the unknown, it is recognized that initial mother-tongue education is both a pedagogical and a psychological necessity (Makalela, 2005:163).

A child’s first language is the language of its immediate surroundings. It is exposed to these languages from the time of procreation, then in the home and surroundings growing up. However, children start schooling at an early age and in situations such as Africa where more than one language is in use, it is often the case that the child’s mother tongue is not the language of the school. Nevertheless the child still spends an important part of its childhood life with her/his parents; therefore the mother tongues will be an important part of its identity.

Mother tongue is an education in itself. The language carries with it a way of thinking, a way of doing and a way of feeling that cannot be obtained in another language.

“Beyond pedagogic and psychological reasons...language is inextricably linked to identity, ideology and power” (Makalela, 2005:163). Whichever context a child is in, she/he can hardly achieve learning when there are identity problems. Identity is strongly connected to parent’s attitudes, to the language spoken at home and to cultural understanding. If this is ignored, children can become drop-outs or “outsiders” in the society, and on top of that, the society will blame them as being responsible for their own difficulties. Research shows that when people feel that they are outsiders, social problems often develop. As Brock-Utne (2006:141) wrote “What does it mean for the development of self-respect and identity that

²⁸ Quoted in Brock-Utne as a footnote: The well-known sociolinguist from Mali, Adama Ouane, now Director of the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning in Hamburg, explained that he grew up with three different African languages, learnt to speak them equally well and could not say that one of them was his mother tongue or his L1 (personal communication 12 march 2004). The terms L1 and L2 have been developed in a setting dealing with immigrants and minority cultures in Europe and the US and do often not fit the scene in Africa where most children are born into multilingual settings.

the language one normally communicates in does not seem to be deemed fit for a language of instruction in school?”

Article 5 of the World Conference of Education for All in Jomtien in 1990 says: “Literacy in the mother-tongue strengthens cultural identity and heritage”. Language policy has therefore an important place in the educational system but it is often underestimated even if research proves it to be effective. Quality in the language will help literacy and will bring equality into the valuation of cultural identity and heritage; therefore it is important to take language policies seriously.

Many schools all over the world use English as the language of instruction in the expectation that it will bring better academic success for their students. As the article id21 from Kathy Webley (2006:1) states, “Yet it is now well established that when a child begins learning in his or her first language (also known as a home language or mother tongue) that child is more likely to succeed academically and is better able to learn an additional languages”. Webley leaves no doubt that the use of mother tongue facilitates the learning processes in schools.

In South Africa, there has been a reduction in the use of the mother tongue in schools. This has coincided with decreasing pass rates for African language speaking students (Prah, 2003). Brock-Utne (2000) mentions African linguists such as Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997; Fafunwa, 1990; Tadajeu, 1989; Tadajeu, 1997; Ouane, 1995; Rubagumya;1991) all of whom argue for the advantages of the use of an African language as the language of instruction. Tadadjeu (1989, 1997) of Cameroon argues for a trilingual model in Africa where a local language would be given equal status to English and French. “Such a policy would strengthen the African continent and bring it closer to a “communautarisme Africain” (Tadadjeu, 1989 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2000:25-26).

An oral mother tongue might be the most complex of all the languages one might choose as a language of instruction. However, it has the distinctive advantage of reinforcing local cultural values and practices. Aikman (1995:420) argues that:

If mother-tongue literacy is to contribute in any way to the maintenance and regeneration of indigenous culture, then it must be used as a part of existing cultural practices rather than introduced from outside according to very different cultural traditions and as mirror images of successful projects with other indigenous peoples.

The overwhelming message from research in Africa is that language of instruction can be the local language or the national language as long as it is the language used in the country. This will improve learning and help to maintain the connection to the local cultural context. Makalela (2005:164) argues that “Averting re-colonization (Brock-Utne, 2000) is thus another motivation for the need to use local languages or mother tongues”. Aikman (1995:420) wrote that “The Shipibo people are now warning of the dangers of concentrating on schooled mother-tongue literacy at the expense of oral practices outside of the school... Schooled literacy is only one of many literacies and rejecting a school-based literacy does not necessarily imply an outright rejection of mother-tongue literacy”. School based literacy has many arguments for and against using one language or another, but the decision should depend on certain criteria. What has to be considered in this context is the use of mother-tongue literacy (or local languages literacy) outside school and which language represents the majority of the students. If the language is a part of a child, rejecting her language as a teaching medium is likely to affect her self esteem and identity. The learning process can be done effectively only if a child feels that its identity is acknowledged.

These identity and language issues have been taken up in the theory of additive and subtractive learning. In the case of additive learning, Holmarsdottir (2003:84) referring to Lambert (1978:217) argues that learners of a second language maintain their first language while simultaneously adding “a second, socially relevant language to [his/her] repertory of skills”. Appel & Muyske (1987) argue that the first language is not in danger of being replaced if it is seen as a prestigious language and if it is supported in many ways i.e. in the mass media. In contrast “when second-language learning is part of a process of language shift away from the first or ‘home’ language, subtractive bilingualism results” (Appel & Muyske, 1987: 102). Psychological issues will intervene and disturb the mind of the child, eventually arresting the learning process. The best way for anyone to learn is to not feel rejected or to feel their identity threatened. Holmarsdottir (2003:84) writes that “Subtractive bilingualism occurs when the two language in question are competing rather than being complementary”. This may occur when the “minority child is schooled through a L2 socially more prestigious than his [/her] own mother tongue” (Hamers & Blanc, 2000:100 quoted in Holmarsdottir 2003:84). Research shows that this happens in several African countries; Brock-Utne (1996) argues that when it comes to language teaching, children of the majority

are treated as minority children or immigrant children who are forced to learn in a second language.

Brock-Utne contends that Kiswahili is significant African-based medium of communication in Tanzania. She (2007:488) writes that:

Even though it is a great advantage that the whole population can communicate in a common African language, it is sad if the strengthening of Kiswahili happens to the detriment of other indigenous languages spoken in Tanzania. If a language is not spoken any more by the younger generation, it will eventually die and with it also important knowledge which has been built up through the ages.

Even though Kiswahili is not a pervasive mother tongue, it is a language spoken by 95% of the Tanzanian population. It is a better as a choice of language of instruction than a foreign language which is not spoken in the daily life of Tanzanians.

2.4 Power and the politics of language

Western languages have more power than indigenous languages and this has affected debates about the language of instruction. Changes towards the use of local languages are not happening even though debates on language of instruction in schools started in the 1930's. Debates continue but changes are seldom made. According to Hardy (1931/132: 445 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002b:53):

The European languages are said to have logic and a level of abstraction that the indigenous languages do not have (see also Kasuya 2001-especially on the belief of the French in the superiority of their language for reasoning)...Of all the subjects taught in the indigenous schools that of the European language is the one which demands the most time, the most trouble, and which yields the least result.

Hardy's argues further that "the child may speak in French or English but s/he thinks in Mandigwe or in Annamite and all the direct teaching methods in the world will do nothing to change this" (Hardy 1931/1932: 445 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002b:54).

The language imperialism of colonial times has been perpetuated in systems of domination and development in the modern era, evident in the domination of the English language. The domination of English according to Skutnabb-Kangas "in many postcolonial societies has served to maintain Western interests" (quoted by Prah, 2005:29). The educational programs introduced by western countries and supported in development aid programs through the

World Bank or the IMF are often not working, therefore there are many legitimate questions being raised about the intentions and effectiveness of development aid. Critics of development aid emphasize the importance of rethinking development and to change educational policies in order to take account of local values, culture and language.

2.4.1 The colonial legacy and language imperialism today

Every colonised people- every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality, finds itself face to face with the language of the civilised nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country (Fanon 1967:18).

As Brock-Utne (2002:49) writes “external influence on the education sector has been there since colonial times”. However, the historian from Burkina Faso, Ki-Zerbo (1990 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002:2) writes in his book “Educate or Perish” that:

The breakup of the African educational system was completed by colonial domination. The colonialists replaced the African educational system with an absolutely different system designed to serve the overall aim of the subjugation of the continent to European needs.

Colonized languages have often remained as elite languages. The extensive use of English, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese in Africa are part of this colonial legacy “The languages of Sub-Saharan African publishing are English, French, Afrikaans, Portuguese and Spanish, the languages of education in the ex-colonies” (Brock-Utne, 2000:3). These languages are the dominant languages in Africa, and also in South America, and in some countries in Asia and in the Pacific. The peoples of these countries have of course their own languages and speak them at home, but not in school.

Grandjean wrote about the situation in an African country, Somalia in the 1950s when the United Nations gave its protectorship of Somaliland to the Italian Republic (Brock-Utne, 2002b:48). Based on the request of UNESCO, Grandjean worked in 1953 on a plan for the development of public education over the period up to 1960. He claimed that of all the problems encountered, “The most important is without any doubt the problem of the language of instruction” (1958:415). Brock-Utne (2002:48) adds that “Even elementary instruction was not given in the Somali language, but rather in Italian, which was the official language, and in Arabic, chosen because it is the language of the Koran”. She adds that

“there are opposing views on the question of whether Arabic is an indigenous African language or a colonial language” (Brock-Utne, 2002:62).

This example is one of many in Africa in which the use of a European language as a medium of instruction is a heritage of colonisation. In all those countries where such a heritage is not present, students most often use their mother tongue throughout the whole of their academic career (Brock-Utne, 2000).

Today, “Euro-languages” are spreading all over the world and globalization is a phenomenon which is growing and influencing countries everywhere. The economic, technological, political, and ecological aspects of globalization bring changes to local social and cultural contexts and have important political and technological consequences. English language and the globalising internet technology have strengthened the role of the English language versus other European languages. These forms for globalisation may lead to the neglect of local cultures and this has strong consequences for educational systems. It is interesting to look at the nature of language globalisation today and see how language has been reduced to just its commercial aspects. When one arrives in an airport in Bulgaria, as I recently did, advertisements proclaim “Eat local, speak global”, “Drink local, speak global”, “Swim local, and speak global”. This shows that English is becoming the global language even in places where very few speak English today.

Culture is however still advertised as local. Culture is important, language is a part of culture and a preservation of language will reinforce local culture.

When I arrive at the Airport of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, an advertisement says “Welcome to Tanzania, yet another country where *Visa* is spoken” (see *plate 1*, in the appendix). “Visa” is spoken by and for the elite but not for the majority, but this brings the myth of the spoken language.

English is used as an official or semi-official language in over 60 countries, and has a prominent place in a further 20. It is either dominant or well established in all six continents. It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports, and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising (Mazrui, 1997:36/37).

The case of Djibouti in Africa is another African example to take in consideration. Djibouti, which is one of the latest colonies of France, has emphasized the English

language through exchange with English speaking countries. Until recently, the English language was a barrier and the international exchange programs were awarded according to the main language of the country, French. However according to a government official interviewed in New Delhi (India) Djibouti has decided to reinforce relations with English speaking countries to be able to get its real “independence” from France through learning English and ICT (Information, Communication and Technology). Djibouti has developed its relations with India in order to achieve two goals in one. It strengthens English, which is the global language, and information technology, which India offers at a reasonable price.

The choice of language is also economic since the exchange student programs in India are made possible to most of the citizens of Djibouti, something that is not the case for a European or North American country. The contrasts between Djibouti and the whole of Africa are enormous.

It is revealing to note, for example, that 80 per cent of the world’s population has no access to basic infrastructure facilities that are regarded as commonplace in the industrialised world - and that there are reported to be more computers in New York alone than in the whole of Africa (DFID 2000), (Crossley & Watson, 2003:46).

If everywhere were like New York, everyone could access “other society’s education systems to discover what can be learned that will contribute to improved policy and practice at home” (Arnove, 2003:6). After achieving independence, many former colonies had access to teachers and “so-called technical experts” (Brock-Utne, 2002:57) to advise them and help them to build school systems. Brock-Utne writes (2002:58) that “The accounts both from teachers and so-called experts differ quite a bit according to the attitudes to, respect for and knowledge of the indigenous culture”. In recent decades, the power of UNESCO relative to the World Bank in education has lessened. The World Bank has virtually taken over the developmental education sector. This shift of power has allowed the World Bank to link education to its neo-liberal economic orthodoxy in developing countries (Brock-Utne, 2002). The World Bank gives conditional ties for the aid given to developing countries.

2.4.2 Development and development aid

The intention of development aid has been to help developing countries improve their social and economic conditions. Yash Tandon (2008:12/13) writes that for development to be successful, it must be on the terms of the developing country. Development is “self-defined; it cannot be defined by outsiders...development is a process of self-empowerment...development is a long process of struggle for liberation from structures of domination and control, including mental constructs and the use of language”. This is in opposition to the Western concept of development, which is generally seen as a process of changing, or converting local institutions and values to match those of the West. According to Tandon (2008:24):

It is important to distil out the imperially imposed system of values that are indeed universal, and recognised in all cultures and civilisations, though in different forms and spiritual languages. There are aspects of cultural and spiritual values that acquire universal validity and recognition through multicultural interaction and mutual learning in which no culture is superior to others. The imperial project that seeks to impose nationally or regionally specific values and the thinking of the donors to serve imperial interests must be distinguished from this broader historical vision.

There are good reasons for questioning the true interests and intentions of developed countries in development aid. Tandon (2008:103) argues that “No country or group of countries has a right to impose its ideological perspective on the other (usually weaker) states by means of aid”.

Tandon (2008) studied Nyerere’s government and philosophy from 1963 to 1999 and described it as a “struggle for emancipation from colonial and imperial economic exploitation and national oppression” (Tandon, 2008:13). Had development aid been more open to stimulating local development, Nyerere’s ideas on education for self-reliance for Tanzania might have provided a basis not only for true Tanzanian development but also could have been used as a model for other countries in the South. Had this been the case, there would have been greater interest in engaging local people in the definition of local projects in their local languages.

Tandon (2008:77) writes that “We have had enough of this dependence of aid. We resolve to end it and become self-reliant. Development is our responsibility and not that of the donors”. A new mind is needed in which local knowledge, projects and language are privileged.

Tandon (2008:105) adds that “The dominant aid-dependent mindset and norms have given birth to an incredible number of false issues and false solutions”. He refers to the:

Institutionalization of the architecture of the aid industry. Dominating the edifice is the World Bank, the IMF, and the OECD’s DAC. The World Bank Group is a family of five ‘banks’ that, as the bank’s website says, provides finance and advice to countries for the purposes of economic development and eliminating poverty. The bank came into existence in December 1945 following the Bretton Woods agreements signed mainly between the developed countries (2008:105).

The World Bank has to take into consideration the failures of development all those decades. According to Tandon, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is also not effective and he (2008:121) writes that “most developing countries do not need it any more”. He goes on to claim that IMF’s credibility is at its lowest point and IMF had ‘little expertise’ as a development institution (2008:121). The changes in the 1980’s had dramatic consequences for Tanzania which still resonate today:

Tanzania was forced by the World Bank and the IMF into structural adjustment measures like cutting down on public expenditures, including the education sector the opening up of private schools and the liberalisation of the text-book market (Brock-Utne, 2005:73).

Liberalisation of primary schools happened all over Tanzania from the mid 1990’s. The “Education and Training Policy in 1995 stipulates that all levels of education are open to private actors. From that date, the increase in English-medium primary schools has been spectacular” (Brock-Utne, 2005:73). The architects of the structural adjustment program wanted to make aid “effective”, but this did not happen. According to Mazrui (1997:45) “the World Bank and the IMF naturally have a vested interest in this interplay between linguistics and economics”. Recently Benjamin W. Mkapa, the president of Tanzania in 1995 to 2005 wrote that “Whilst attempts are being made to reform institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, it is evident that these post-Second World War behemoths have lost legitimacy and relevance” (Tandon, 2008: Foreword). However Mazrui (1997:45) adds that “imperialist control can also be approached from the point of view of language, not as a reservoir of culturally-bound world views, but as an instrument for the communication of ideas”.

Furthermore Mkapa in (Tandon, 2008: Foreword) wrote that “If this means the rethinking of old concepts and methods of work then let it be so”. The language has to be taken into

consideration. The alternative as an empowerment of the people grounded in their knowledge and using their language. This will bring new thinking about development within “its proper historical and ‘civilizing’ context, then there is still some hope that in our own times (going beyond the present generation) we could build a more multicultural, tolerant and humane civilization” (Tandon, 2008:24). This radical shift has to be done by the people and their leaders in a language that all understand. They need to develop their countries in a self reliant vision through education without any outside conditions.

Brock-Utne (2002:69) argues that:

The aid to African education has lately involved the imposition of conditions that create dependency and undermine indigenous educational patterns. Such conditions can include the insistence on textbooks written and published abroad; the use of examination systems devised in Europe or North America and so called cost-sharing measures.

Conditionalities bringing privatization to developing countries are supported through the World Bank, which ironically is supported by countries such as Norway who do not have a cost sharing (contribution from the parents) system. Cost-sharing has been a problem in these development programs and “the neo-liberal paradigm creates losers in rich countries as well as in poor ones” (Brock-Utne, 2002:60). In order to reduce the cost per student at all levels, one of the responses is to increase class size. World Bank economists claim that the student/teacher ratio does not affect learning in the interval between 20 and 45 students per teacher. The implication of this is - that one teacher may teach 45 students at a time with same quality as if the numbers of students were only 20 – is highly questionable. According to Martin Carnoy (1999) this thinking gives the impression that schools can save public spending by reducing the number of teachers. Furthermore Carnoy (1999) argues that investment in greater access to education for low income children might yield a higher potential return because these children are more motivated than children from higher income families. He argues that if the latter really is the case, then governments can justify investments where both competitiveness and equity are increased. However competition is interpreted in different ways by different writers and according to Jon Lauglo (1995) those who encourage the market mechanism believe that good quality and efficient use of resources are best achieved by competition. The assumption is that customers, meaning the students and their parents, are the best judges of the value of services rendered and they should be given the choice among competing institutions (in areas where there are more than

one institution). Schools are being regarded as business organizations competing against one another for customers and clients, students and parents. Scoppio (2002) calls this marketization of education, and says that it results in education being made into a commodity. Lauglo (1995) argues that advocates of the market mechanism believe that competition for customers will make efficient institutions successful and those not so promising will either improve or go out of business. The proponents argue that parental choice and competition will improve education for all children by making the education system more efficient, improve quality, increase access, and enhance equity.

Critics of the market mechanism argue that there is unequal purchasing power among the customers and that schools compete to attract the most able students and avoid the enrolment of the less motivated and less able. This might lead to increased social class inequality in education and also inequality of opportunity between high- and low achieving students (Belfield and Levin, 2002). Therefore the World Bank's program Education for All can be questioned when it comes to its consequences for the quality of education. Brock-Utne (2002b:60) mentions that "When it comes to the World Bank and the language question there has over the last ten years been a shift in the Bank rhetoric concerning the value of the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction". However, the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction is encouraged beyond the first three years of the primary level. Keith Simkin (1981 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002:61) writes that "both orthodox and radical varieties of comparative education are forms of cultural imperialism". Christel Adick (1992 quoted in Brock-Utne 2002b:62) criticizes Comparative Education in non-western countries because it omits non-western perspectives, experiences and studies. Furthermore Adick (1992 quoted in Brock-Utne 2002b:62) criticizes the omission of issues such as ethnicity and education, educational problems of the third world, or multi-cultural education. Adick suggests that we look at the developing countries in the same way we see the "modern world" (1992 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2002). A modern world is equal to a rich world and developing countries are rich, not only with their resources but by virtue of their culture (as long as they are preserved).

By creating written out of oral languages we preserve local culture and prevent the disappearance of local values and traditions "The lack of written material in the local languages is a grave concern in most of the developing world" (Brock-Utne, 2002b:55). It is certain that everyone needs to communicate with the outside world. To stay isolated is not

the solution, but we have to take into consideration the maintenance of local culture. This should be given priority. Through the use of their own language, children learn autonomy, self-confidence, socializing, how to interact with nature and how to function in the society.

2.4.3 Language as social and cultural capital

Not understanding the official language, the ordinary people can neither identify themselves with the state nor acquire even the most rudimentary information about public affairs. (Andreski, quoted in Prah, 2005:33)

Parents with good economy have the economic flexibility to find an alternative to the public school curriculum for their child. They can choose a private institution for example; help their child with homework or give the child private tutoring. This increases the chances that the child will make it at least through secondary school. On the contrary, if the parents do not have good economy, the child's chances of being accepted into secondary school are diminished. However, regardless of their economic situation, if the parents do not master the language of Instruction they "perhaps can motivate indirectly their children to learn to read. Nonetheless, parents still will be unable to help them directly in the development of their language and reading ability" (Loona, 1996:17).

Another issue is that if the language of instruction is not their own, the child might be able to read and write but will not be able to develop new perspectives (Loona, 1996). What this means is that the child will not be able to understand the central concepts used in the society, and will neither be able to read nor properly understand what is said in debates concerning them and their situations. The child will be distanced from what is happening around her and will be outside of the decisions made in the society. One way to gain access to social capital is through employment. However, this can be difficult if the job applicant does not master the local language. They will be masters neither of the language they learn at school nor the one used around them. This can lead to code-mixing, which brings with it difficulties. The Tanzanian Prime Minister Sumaye critiqued members of Parliament for this when he criticized their mixing of English words into their speeches in Kiswahili. He said that "the code-mixing made it difficult for citizens who do not have much schooling to follow the debates" (in Brock-Utne, 2005). A result could be that the children will not have enough of what Bourdieu (1977) defines as "cultural capital", an ability which is strongly dependent on both doing well in school and having language fluency.

According to Bourdieu (1977) a general cultural background, knowledge and skill will be passed from a generation to another. The ability to function well in schools and in the society will be dependent on certain surrounding factors “such as parental education, number of books in the home, amount that a child is read to, and amount that a child is talked to. Loona (1996:6) writes “Children do not arrive at school with equal amounts of knowledge of the world”. Bourdieu’s cultural capital concept is crucial to success in European schools. This problem is exacerbated in African countries which use English skills have become an important component of cultural capital. In Africa “only 24 per cent of the population is functionally literate in English and are hindered from full participation in the economic, social and political areas dominated by English” (Makalela, 2005:159). On the other hand, local language fluency does not provide cultural capital for fully participating in social and political life. Using a local language as the language of instruction could bring equity and therefore help education for all as well as give work opportunities for all. .

Why is it that families with limited economies are those whose children most often have problems in school? Loona, applying Bourdieu’s theory, argued that “Children who read books, visit museums, attend concerts (or simply grow up in families where these practices are prevalent) acquire a familiarity with dominant culture that the educational system implicitly requires of its students for academic achievement” (1996:6). However Loona (1996:6) went on to write that “Differences in experiences in homes and in their daily lives can lead to some children having lesser or greater amounts of knowledge in some knowledge-domains than other children.” One can argue that it is therefore not a problem of language but a problem of cultural capital. However, Bourdieu (1977:72) writes that:

one can put forward the hypothesis that the specific productivity of all pedagogic work other than the pedagogic work accomplished by the family is a function of the distance between the habitus it tends to inculcate (in the context, scholarly mastery of scholarly language) and the habitus inculcated by all previous forms of pedagogic work and, ultimately, by the family (i.e. in this case, practical mastery of the mother tongue).

2.5 Conclusion

What one hears and how it is interpreted is related to the use of the language. The language is used in the learning process inside and outside of the house. How well one can express

oneself and listen, will be dependent on language skills. The language used more frequently as a child will be the one which can be understood and interpreted best. Thus the most obvious choice of language of instruction will be the language used inside and outside the place one grows up. Mazrui (1997:38) writes:

First language enhances learning and the development of certain basic cognitive skills, but instruction in a less familiar, second or foreign language is actually detrimental to the educational progress of the child...not speaking the language of instruction can make the difference between succeeding and failing in school, between remaining in school and dropping out.

There is overwhelming evidence that the choice of language of instruction is critical to learning. Language is the tool of learning and therefore what tool can be more easy to use than the local language as the language of instruction?

In this chapter I have reviewed theory relevant to understanding the importance between language, culture and learning in places like Africa where the choices are between globally powerful and local languages. The theory of self reliance stresses the importance of the curriculum being grounded in the local context and be mediated through a local language. Such an approach emphasizes the importance of indigenous concepts, articulated in their natural environment. Education is more than schooling. Therefore re-thinking in re-teaching is vital. Oral and local languages need to be valued and preserved, and students need to be prepared for the world in a language medium which promotes understanding. Development needs a new face in which local technologies, including those used in education are given priority.

An important educational technology is the production of books. Textbooks and teaching materials can be produced inexpensively if the knowledge and the production are local. Many literacy classes in Africa use African languages in literacy work. This is commendable but as Brock-Utne (2005) wrote that people once literate forget how to read because they do not get material to read. Publication is thus important but in which language? “In my language for myself or in your language for yourself” said Prah in the 2008 IMPLAN conference. Therefore by liberating the mind and giving “*self-reliance*” through *local* autonomy, defined by *local* knowledge and *local* people in *local* production and grounded in *local* belief is the natural path to a sustainable *Education for All*. Concerning language, “It is an insult to Africa to switch to another language, it is slavery” put strongly by Prah at the

IMPLAN conference. He added “How can we achieve good learning by switching from a language to another one which is not even spoken in the country? It does not happen in Europe, nor in America, therefore why do we let it happen in Africa?” (Prah, 2008). It is obvious that the learner will understand best in the language of instruction, yet the choice is seldom made.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the research methodology used in this study. I will begin by discussing the research strategy and the information collection methods used. I will describe the research design and then the process of the fieldwork, which centers on a qualitative, ethnographic approach. Qualitative methods are the most appropriate methods for understanding the complex relations between causes and consequences that affect human behavior (Brock-Utne, 1996). I will explain how I chose my interview samples and the interview process, discussing the data collection procedures and interpretation. I will conclude with the ways that validity and ethical questions were dealt with, since this a major consideration when doing research in the field.

3.2 Research strategy

Robert Yin (1994:19) refers to a research design, or strategy, as “an action plan for getting from here to there”. I agree with Michael Patton (1990:46) when he writes that “Fieldwork is the central activity of qualitative enquiry” and with Norman Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln (2008:3) when they write that “qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right”. The centerpiece of the research strategy was a five week period of field research in Tanzania, using an ethnographic approach to data collection. I found the ethnographic approach appropriate to my research questions because “ethnography is a diverse mixture of methods supported by various theoretical or epistemological perspectives...Initially ethnography was the central concern of anthropology, but in more recent years it has also become of significant interest to linguistics, sociologists and educationalists alike” (Halla Holmarsdottir, 2003:129). The aspects of ethnography that were important to the study were classroom observation and participation; qualitative interviews with students, their parents, and with both policy makers and educators; and a review of local documents relevant to choices about language and education in Tanzania. An ethnographic approach also provides

the potential to link theoretical and policy based research on (Brock-Utne, 1996) language, culture and education.

According to Holmarsdottir (2003:127), “Few researchers spend time at the grassroots level, asking the participants for their own views and observing the dynamics of the classroom in economically oppressed areas”. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008:10):

Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multiparadigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi method approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political positions.

Interviews were done with students, teachers, educational professionals and policy makers. At the schools, interview participants included headmaster/mistress, teachers, parents, and students. I interviewed government officers, academicians, and NGOs to elicit their understanding or aims in language policies. I agree with Holmarsdottir (2003:127) when she writes that “the aim is to shed the light on the gap between the policy and the practice while adopting a bottom-up approach in reporting the perspectives of those most directly involved”. I furthermore agree that the interviews in general help to “illuminate different aspects concerning the implementation of the language policy” (Holmarsdottir, 2003:150).

I triangulated these qualitatively acquired data with data and statistics produced by the Ministry of Education. As Brock-Utne (1996:615) writes, “A conventional way of treating validity in qualitative research is the recourse to triangulation”. According to Marshall and Rossman (1989:83), “using a combination of different data increases validity as the strengths of one approach can compensate for the weaknesses of another”. I used some quantitative data to support my findings where appropriate since it has been suggested that different approaches may be combined (Patton, 1990).

A triangulated approach is particularly useful in studies such as this one which take on questions at the interface between educational practices and educational policy. Furthermore Brock-Utne (1996:617) adds that:

There has been a tendency for the literature on education in developing countries to be concerned more with a discussion of policies and system-wide features than with what Michael Crossley and Graham Vulliamy (1984) call observations of the realities of schooling at the chalk face.

Prior to leaving for fieldwork in Tanzania, I reviewed the literature and case studies on language and education. I aimed at developing an understanding of important background issues relevant to my study, including the social, political and historical aspects of education and language in Tanzania. The principle subjects of my study were the educational environments in two schools in Dar es Salaam, one public and one private, as well as government officials who work with language and educational policies. Since I was a part of LOITASA project, my research permit was prepared by the LOITASA project at the University of Dar es Salaam. After receiving the permit, I was able to begin my research.

The choice of Dar es Salaam was crucial to the study, since this city has a large sampling of different languages and cultures. As Halima Mwinshikhe (2002:48-49) describes, there is a “great diversity of the student population in the schools- Dar-es-Salaam has over the years drawn large numbers of people from every corner of the country, the students are a section of this heterogeneous population”.

The choice of the two schools was determined by the LOITASA project. The choice of one government and one private school facilitated a comparison and contrast of the use of Kiswahili and English as language of instruction. The government school is the Shekilango Kiswahili Medium Primary school in Sinza road (*Plate 2*) and the private school is the DIS (Dar es Salaam International School), located in Mapambano of the same Sinza area of the city. The private school is called international because they use English as a medium of instruction; even if its students are exclusively Tanzanian. I name the school where the research was carried out with the school’s consent. I will explain more this issue in the ethical part of this chapter.

I conducted interviews at the Ministry of Education and Vocational training, and I also went to the Ministry of Culture because I found out that the Ministry of Culture has a department which promotes the languages of Tanzania. In addition, I visited various NGOs which work with some aspect of educational policy. The project coordinator in Tanzania wrote letters to different government officials in order to introduce me to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. I had a copy with me that I presented to the officials I interviewed, I also introduced the project and my research aims in every setting I encountered. This introduction made my informants comfortable and at ease during interviews. In some cases, I

was asked to send my research proposal and interview guides to government officials before they would grant me an interview.

3.3 The interview sample and the selection process

My interview sample with educators, learners and parents was selected purposively. This sampling method is useful in qualitative research (Bryman, 2004:333). I used the ‘snow ball’ technique of finding appropriate interview subjects, also called chain sampling (Patton 1990). These terms snowball and chain sampling are meant to convey that interview participants were especially useful in suggesting new interview subjects who could contribute to my research questions about educational and language policy. Chain sampling proved to be effective in finding informants with important insights on my research questions (Patton 1990). This method opened the research to a wide range of information which helped to unravel the complexities around language and learning. It brought me in contact with many valuable informants who were experts in their fields, mainly local voices. As Brock-Utne (1996) argues, the quality of the research will increase dramatically if the voices of local experts are reflected.

3.3.1 Educators

After the initial visits with the LOITASA project staff, I set up interviews with each of the two school’s headmasters, and with a sample of teachers, parents, and pupils. In the sample of teachers, I selected five teachers from the government school (Shekilango Kiswahili Medium Primary school) and five from the private school (The Dar es Salaam International School). I interviewed the headmaster of the private school and the headmistress of the government school during the first week of field work. They helped me to organize the interviews with the teachers selected by the LOITASA project who teach the subjects of Kiswahili, English and Mathematics.

3.3.2 Parents and pupils

Four parents representing four different families were interviewed from the public school and six from the private school. I interviewed the parents from each school during the

second, third and the fifth week of the field work. My selection of parents (families) was purposive. My aim was to select parents of children who either were doing very well in the classroom or doing poorly, intending to learn from the contrast.

The headmistress of the government school helped me by contacting the parents and organizing the interviews in a very efficient way. The headmaster of the private school was less helpful. I was forced to change tactics in finding private school parents to interview. I decided to write a note to the parents I had selected for interviewing and have it delivered to them by their children. I gave them my name and telephone number and asked them to contact me in the evening. This tactic proved to be fruitful. I received so many calls from parents that in the end I had more interviews than intended.

I interviewed four pupils in the public school and four in the private school during the second and third weeks of the field work. In coherence with the selection of parents, I selected both pupils who are doing very well and pupils who were not doing so well in order to find out what is behind the differences. I assembled the children in groups of four and interviewed them one by one. This was done on the recommendation of the teachers, who felt this would make the pupils feel more comfortable and would facilitate the information exchange.

3.3.3 Government officials

Eight government officials and three members of NGO staff (one by email) were interviewed.

I interviewed several government officers about twice or three times a week according to their time schedule. I had to go to the Ministries or to the NGO's offices to take the appointment in advance and the interviews were scheduled the day I met them since I was aware that they all had a busy schedule. I had to visit the Ministries many times before I completed my interviews. In some cases, this was because the potential interviewees wanted a copy of my research proposal and my interview guide in advance of the interview.

As I developed contacts and used government networks at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, I found that two institutions were crucial for my study, TIE (Tanzania Institute of Education) and NECTA (The National Examinations Council of Tanzania). Interviews with officials of this institute proved to be very important and, in addition a few

of these government officials were kind enough to write letters introducing me to other government institutions.

3.3.4 NGO staff

I also had interviews with several NGO's such as Haki-Elimu, which means Right for Education. I selected this NGO based on advice from my Norwegian thesis advisor. I wanted to know if language issues were included in their fights for right to education and was to find out that it certainly was. I did the interview by email.

The leader of the LOITASA project, Professor Galabawa advised that another NGO TEN-MET (Tanzania Education Network - Mtandan Elimu Tanzania) was doing work relevant to my studies and gave me the name of the coordinator, Professor Kisanji. Jessica Shepherd (2009:28) describes this NGO as "an umbrella group of more than 200 Tanzanian and international community-based and nongovernmental organizations"²⁹. I found the interview to be relevant and important.

Another important NGO interview was with Policy Planning, an NGO which aims at making government policies work for the people. The selection of this NGO is a good example of network sampling. The name was provided by lecturer and political scientist Bashiru, who had in turn been recommended to me by Azaweli Feza Lwaitama, a senior lecturer at the Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages at the University of Dar es Salaam.

3.3.5 Academics and researchers

Four professors and four university lecturers were interviewed at the University of Dar es Salaam (one retired), chosen purposively according to their fields. Most of these interviews were informal and conversational, but they yielded very valuable information.

²⁹ Article published in "The Guardian Weekly" by Jessica Shepherd, the 10th of April 2009.

3.4 Data collection and interpretation

3.4.1 Observation

On arrival, I was introduced to the schools that the LOITASA project had selected. The leader of the project in Tanzania introduced me to the private school and another member of the LOITASA team in Tanzania introduced me to the government school. I was fortunate to have a Tanzanian supervisor, since she was able to help me to find my way around and to facilitate the initial days of my field work. Her participation accelerated the process of learning about the schools and interacting with their staff. I arranged to follow the subjects on which the LOITASA project was concentrating, which are Kiswahili, English and Mathematics. In the ensuing weeks, I observed how children were learning and participating in classrooms and which language the teacher and the pupils were using in the classroom, Kiswahili and/or English. I observed which learning materials were available in classrooms, the way they were being used, and how material resources affected the learning process. I observed the classroom conditions such as noise levels and physical conditions of the building and how these affected the teaching and environment. These observations were very important to my analysis and gave me a holistic overview of the learning context (Brock-Utne (1996).

I moved back and forth between private and public schools according to the teacher's schedules and interview plans. By being in the classroom virtually every day, the pupils felt comfortable having me in the classroom. I was part of the setting and I could take notes without drawing attention (Patton, 2002). While taking notes, I used the "memoing" data technique. According to Miles & Huberman (1984:69) "Memoing is the researcher's field notes recording of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the process". I followed these procedures, dating all the notes and memos in order to use them in my data analysis. However as Vuzo (2007:92) states "Observations are limited by the fact that one can only study observable phenomena". Consequently, as Marshall and Rossman (1999) affirm supplementing observations with interviews, allows the researcher to check description against facts.

3.4.2 Interviews

The interview is according to Kahn and Cannell (1957:149) “a conversation with a purpose”. I agree with Seidman (1998) that interviews provide access to behavior of the people in the context and therefore help the researcher to understand the meaning of that behavior. Such realistic views, experiences and attitudes would otherwise remain inaccessible. The most important source of information is of course the verbal dialogue, but it is also important to observe body language.

In order to make use of the information in the most efficient way, I began with an interview guide (see appendix). I agree with Brock-Utne (1996:605) when she stresses the importance of the research questions: “A main concern is the posing of the right research questions”. It is important that these questions be posed in ways that will cover the subject and impose some consistency to the ways information is solicited. As Vuzo (2007:95) writes “The use of interview guides is seen as important in order to make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material”. The interview guides provide a framework for consistency, yet give the interviewer the freedom to explore and cover different aspects of the subject. Patton (2002:343) expresses this flexibility this way:

The interview guide provides topics or subjects areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate the particular subject. Thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously and to establish a conversational style- but with focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

I prepared four interview guides: one for the pupils, one for the parents, one for the teachers and one for the government officials/NGOs officers. I had the interview guides for the parents, pupils and teachers translated into Kiswahili. I used open-ended, semi-structured interviews. Kvale (1996) argues that the most effective research interview is semi-structured; meaning that one begins with a set of pre-determined questions, but that the interviewer is open to explore new issues which grow out of the subjects responses. The research interview should neither be an unstructured, open conversation nor a fixed questionnaire. By having an interview guide I was able to focus on certain key themes and questions, but I was also open for original contributions from respondents.

Face to face interviews

I began each interview by introducing myself as a student at the University of Oslo, introduced the LOITASA project and talked about the aim of my project.

It was important to begin the interview by putting the people I interviewed at ease. In the case of interviews with parents, I emphasized that the information was intended to be used to improve their children's teaching system and help them to learn better. I tried to be as neutral towards their ideas as possible and to encourage them to have confidence to say what they truly meant. I followed the advice of Patton (2002:405) when he wrote that "The purpose of a research interview is first and foremost to gather data, not change people".

Interviews with school staff, teachers and headmasters lasted about 45 minutes. However, I limited interviews with pupils to about 15 minutes in order not to overtax student's attention span. While doing the interviews, I asked the pupils questions such as in which language do you learn best? Do you understand everything that the teacher says? Do you have any difficulties in school (classroom)? If yes, are any of them related to the language? Another important set of questions addressed how facilities, curriculum, instructional materials and the contexts of the teaching helped them learn, such as what would be nice to have in school to improve your learning? What would you like to have at home to improve your learning?

The interviews with government officials went better than I had expected. The first government official I interviewed was very cooperative and gave me much more time than we had set aside beforehand. He was very easy to communicate with and was eager to talk about various aspects of education reform. He opened me up to new perspectives on the politics of language and education and gave me valuable information which helped me see both sides of the debate on whether or not Kiswahili is appropriate as the language of instruction. The interview went well, but when it was over I decided to send him the interview guide by email in order to complete the interview. He answered the questions as soon as he received them.

The interviews with professors and Lecturers took place in their offices at the University of Dar es Salaam, and in a few cases in a coffee shop on or near the campus according to their schedule.

I recorded most of my interviews, and by recording them I captured a few details I did not notice in the verbal exchange. These recorded semi-structured interviews were essential to my analysis because they gave more information than those recorded by hand (Holmarsdottir, 2003). I did not record interviews with the government officials. I did not want informant's to conceal information because of worries about having a record of the interview. I found that interviews that I did not record were more open and, in line with Holmarsdottir's (2003:151) experience, "the atmosphere was more relaxed and as a result the respondents may have been more candid in their responses".

I often experienced that valuable information came out when the official interview was over. I later learned that this is referred to as the Goffman effect, related to what he calls 'on stage' and 'off stage'. According to Goffman (1959:1)

When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be. In line with this, there is the popular view that the individual offers his performance and puts on his show 'for the benefit of other people'. It will be convenient to begin a consideration of performances by turning the question around and looking at the individual's own belief in the impression of reality that he attempts to engender in those among whom he finds himself.

Whereas most of my interviews were semi-structured, some of the interviews with academics and NGO officials were more open-ended (Patton, 2002). These informal interviews led me to very interesting issues which I investigated further and in many cases produced valuable data for my analysis.

My final set of interviews was more focused because of the knowledge I built up over the course of the field work. I had gained more insight and knowledge about the phenomenon. As Holmarsdottir (2003:151) writes, The interviews are ... part of a learning process whereby the interviewer learns how to ask focused questions and how to interpret the answers as the issues become clearer" (Holmarsdottir, 2003:151).

3.4.3 Document review

A document review is important because reports, statistics, trends and written policies can contribute to the analysis by augmenting evidence from other sources (Yin, 1994). Important documentation for this study included for example statistics from government officials such as exams results (see tables in chapter four); data on the number of students in government and primary schools; the growth of government versus private schools (see appendix); and circulars on education and language in education in Tanzania (quoted in chapter four). According to Hodder (1994:293) “State is the source of a great deal of information of potential significance for social researchers”. Unfortunately, some interesting statistics I would have liked to have had were not available because the comparison between government and private/English Medium schools is not available in standard seven. It would be helpful to look at how students in private schools are doing in English subjects as well as in other subjects at this level.

Another important source of documents was the University Library at Dar es Salaam University. I was fortunate to have had the use of an office at the University, which gave me convenient access to the library and other campus facilities.

3.5 Validity of the research

The choice of a qualitative research methodology contributes to securing the validity of my claims about the choice of language of instruction. My aim was true, contextually grounded knowledge, what Holmarsdottir (2005:201) describes validity, “Validity can be defined as the ability of the researcher to produce true knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation”. A problem with qualitative interviewing is the risk that people will not answer completely truthfully, but will rather give answers that put them in a good light or answer what they think the researcher will want to hear. On the other hand, while interviewing imposes risks, “When interviewees are open and willing to talk...People will tell you things they never intended to tell you” (Patton, 2002:406).

An important issue in securing validity is a well-prepared researcher. One of the issues I was careful about was grounding my research questions in current theory and previous results. As Kirk and Miller (1986:30) claim “Asking the wrong questions actually is the source of most validity errors. Devices to guard against asking the wrong question are critically important to the researcher”. I was also thoroughly prepared for the interviews, having put a lot of work into interview guides and into gaining familiarity with the contexts around the interview setting and the interview respondents. I have been very careful while writing my interview guides by asking questions that everyone can understand and to increase validity. I have translated my interview guides in Kiswahili to make sure that the pupils, the parents and the teachers I interviewed could understand perfectly well the questions I was asking them (Bryman, 2004). I also wrote field notes and recorded my notes each day in order to save all of the new insights and information I gained during the day (Patton 1990). These proved to be a fruitful supplement to the interview transcripts. I agree with Holmarsdottir (2005:202) when she writes that “The validity of the research depends to some extent on the skill, competence and rigor of the field worker”. Finally, using local sources of knowledge is important to achieving validity. Relying on African research, interviewing local academicians and observing the local setting as it was the case in this study gives as Brock-Utne (1996:608) writes “legitimacy to the experiences of African researches as the most valid knowledge there is of African living and African education”.

I was careful to draw in perspectives from a broad number of institutions and from different levels in the educational and government hierarchy. This adds what Brock-Utne (1996:617) calls “ecological validity” to the research, defined as “the extent to which behavior observed in one context can be generalized to another”. I agree with Brock-Utne (1996:618) when she writes that:

All institutions, including schools, are characterized by a hierarchy of credibility. Organizations and communities are internally differentiated, and the interests of subgroups differ...Moreover, since institutions rarely work exactly as intended and contain conflicting interest groups, a research report that gives any credence to perspectives at variance with those of the top of the hierarchy of credibility will be seen as threatening.

To increase ecological validity, I have named the institutions where I have done observation and interviews, as well as individuals interviewed wherever possible. I give the names of the schools involved in the project. As Brock-Utne writes, “in order to ensure high ecological

validity it is necessary that as many characteristics as possible about the school in question are given” (1996:618). I concur with Brock- Utne (1996) who argues that when the institutions remain unnamed, “the ecological validity would have been so low that one might have claimed I was writing fiction” (Brock-Utne, 1996:618). I give the names of informants when they have given their permission to do so, but I do not give the names of children under 18 years of age. Another tactic used to insure validity was through the use of a triangulation of qualitative methods, supplemented with data from larger quantitative studies on education in Tanzania. This form of triangulation is sometimes called convergent validity. Campbell and Fiske (1959) cited in Brock-Utne (1996:615) contend that:

What they call *convergent validity* implies that different methods for the same construct should give relatively high intercorrelation, while *discriminant validity* implies that similar methods for different constructs should give relatively low intercorrelation.

According to Brock-Utne (1996) this triangulation of qualitative methods will also contribute to the ecological validity to the study. Validity is sometimes posed in opposition to reliability, more often used in quantitative research designs. As Hoepfl (1997) notes, reliability, referring to confidence, has not received a lot of attention from qualitative researchers. Nonetheless Bryman (2004) and Yin (1994) argue that keeping a record of all information that has been gathered contributes to the reliability of the research findings regardless of whether they are based on qualitative or quantitative designs. In the case of my study, I have kept careful records of all interview transcripts, field notes and other factual records. I have classified the repetitions and emphasized them in my findings.

3.6 Language issues in the field research

Even though some people speak English in Tanzania, I was aware that language and communication could be a problem, and I therefore had my questionnaire translated into Kiswahili so that participants could answer in the language they were most comfortable with. I studied Kiswahili at the University of Oslo prior to leaving for field work, but I did not reach a sufficient level of competence to be able to communicate at a level of deep understanding. I continued taking private Kiswahili classes during my field work in Dar es Salaam. The interactions with local language instructors turned out to be an important source of information on language issues in Tanzania.

I used a translator in most formal interview situations in the schools. The English or French teachers performed this role and were the key to helping me understand what parents and pupils were saying. I asked the teachers to be as neutral as possible and to translate as exactly as possible the questions and responses. Since I was familiar with the language they were translating, I could occasionally detect a tendency for them to introduce their own opinions. In these cases, I reformulated the question in order to reconfirm responses.

3.7 Ethical concerns

An important ethical issue is to act in a sensitive and respectful manner (Patton, 2002). This should always be a precondition when encountering new cultures. Another ethical issue concerns confidentiality (Bryman, 2004) and that is why I did not mention the names of those who did not give permission to do so. I have used the names of those who gave permission to do so. All participants were informed about the intentions of my project prior to their involvement, and their right to withdraw from participation was emphasized. I also sent by email all the quotations I choose to use in my analysis chapter to give the interview respondents the opportunity to read through them in order to correct misunderstandings or inappropriate statements.

Another important ethical concern was to respect local researchers and local knowledge. I believe that I achieved my stated purpose in virtually every interview situation, which was to give freedom to the voice of the informants and to live up to the promise of interpreting their contributions by placing them in their proper historical, political and cultural contexts. I kept the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) in mind:

The term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. She continues, “The word itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary....It is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism,” with the ways in which “knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified, and then represented back to the West” (p.1). This dirty word stirs up anger, silence, and distrust. “It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research”. It is one of colonialism’s most sordid legacies (quoted in Denzin and Norman, 2008:1).

I tried to be as neutral as possible when it comes to my researcher’s role; I presented myself as a European, but only first generation and having grown up in a culturally mixed African-

European family, capable of avoiding the dichotomy described by Denzin and Norman (2008:1):

Sadly, qualitative research, in many if not all of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography), serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power, and for truth. The metaphor works this way. Research provides the foundation for reports about and representation of “the Other.” In the colonial context, research becomes an objective way of representing the dark-skinned Other to the white world.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the question of which language is best suited as a Language of Instruction (LoI) in Tanzania, English or Kiswahili, as well as the related trend towards the growth in English-language private schooling. I will discuss and analyze my findings on choice of language in government and private primary schools in Dar es Salaam, based on interviews and observations with children and teachers, then I will examine why, in spite of earlier findings which demonstrate quite clearly that children learn better in a local language, English is favored. An important myth regarding both the interest in English and in the growth of private schooling is that mastery of English will improve job prospects. I will discuss the sources of this myth and argue that the advantages of English in the job market are exaggerated. This myth is also partly responsible for the growth of private schooling from the time when Tanzania adopted the Education and Training Policy of 1995 (Rubagumya, 2003), but I will show how the advantages attributable to greater resources get confused with the alleged advantages of learning in English. I will examine the differences in access to resources, learning materials and student teacher ratios between public and private schools, supporting this with arguments given by parents, teachers, school authorities and government officials.

4.2 Data analysis strategies

Prior to beginning the analysis, a few words about data analysis. I have *segmented* and *categorized* the data to facilitate my analysis. I have chosen categories based on an analysis of the interview results, where I have used a *thematic* and *interactional* analysis (Riessman, 2004)³⁰, grouping arguments into themes. The analysis is thematic because I have quoted what has been said, and is interactional since I have used some of the dialogue between the interviewees and myself. In some cases, I used the names of my informants along with their

³⁰ Named in the Methodologie Lecture of Dr. Halla Holmarsdottir at the University of Oslo in the Autumn, 2008.

positions, because this provides a better basis for the reader to weigh and interpret their responses (some of the informants requested to remain anonymous).

In the following sections I will take up themes that are relevant to my analysis.

4.3 English versus Kiswahili

4.3.1 Arguments in favor of English

- **Expectations about work**

“English is Education” characterized what most parents seem to think about choice of language in education. They believe that English will help their children to deal with the tough competition for jobs their children will encounter in the world, a huge concern of Tanzanian parents. Though not many Tanzanians leave Tanzania or work outside the country, it is the hope of many parents that their child will find work abroad. In their view English will better prepare them for this. They believe that the job market demands English language competence. Most of parents told me that because job interviews are in English, mastery of English is the key to entering the working world. It is true that many job interviews in Tanzania are in English and that language can be a barrier to getting a job if the applicant performs poorly. As many parents put it, the strict work qualification is not necessarily English but without English the applicant is often not considered to be qualified. According to Martha Qorro, who is a former Senior Lecturer in the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam has been teaching study skills in English in the Communication Skills Unit since 1983, this belief by a number of my respondents that by knowing English, Tanzanians will be able to work and study everywhere in the world, is incorrect. Journalist Jenerali Ulimwengu, who has a good overview of the job situation and owns the newspaper “Raia Mwema” (which means “Good citizen”), asks “Why do Tanzanians need English to find a job, are we in the UK³¹? We do know that the language of Globalization is English but why should English determine whether you are

³¹ United Kingdom.

qualified or not for a job”. Professor Khamisi who is the former Deputy Vice Chancellor at the Open University says this about English skills and job opportunities:

If we want to do business with Norway, are we going to tell all the community to learn the language of Norway? They are saying they won't get a job, if they don't speak English. That is a problem, why do we need English to get a job, when most do not understand English. That is a minority; most of Tanzanian does not leave Tanzania. And why do you have to have English to get a job, we are not in UK. Until when will we be slaves?

This “myth” of English as a key to obtaining jobs and good salaries came up in many of the interviews with parents. However, I was to find that the reality was something else. Gertrude Mugizi, who is the Coordinator at the Policy Forum NGO (Non Governmental Organization), says:

You will have more chances to get a job if you are qualified with average English, than if your English is fine without qualification. The big market does not value English but values knowledge. It is cheaper for them to train someone to speak English. I don't think that politicians are listening to the market, to the private sector. The banks, communication, gas, mines, those industries hire the one who has a technical skills. I know because I worked in the human resources before working here.

This “myth” about the importance of English is an important reason behind the interest in private schools, a growing number of which use English as a medium of instruction. This trend will likely continue unless an effort is made to bring to parents the reality about the relationship between job opportunities and English language skills.

- **Confusion about general learning and learning a language**

Learning and learning a language have different objectives. “The objectives of education are different from those for learning English language and as such the two sets of objectives should be set apart and ways to attain each set of objectives should be found” (Roy-Campbell Z. and M. Qorro, 1997:98). It seems that these differing objectives are not taken into consideration in Tanzania. Ulimwengu (a former government official) told me that “The government does not invest time to think about Education, about what Education means”. I found out after the first few interviews with government officers that questions about language and learning were confused. The Principal Curriculum Developer at TIE (Tanzania Institute of Education) argued that “All our teachers are able to teach English when they are graduated from secondary school”. If the requirement for teaching English is a secondary

school degree, we can question the level of quality of both the teaching and the learning of English. This brings us back to the argument of Qorro (2004) that there is a need for greater exposure to quality English. This issue comes up several times in my interviews. Parents are worried about the quality of English that their children are exposed to school. On the other hand, Professor Khamisi worries about the consequences of learning in English for the other subjects. He said “Those 17 years are the essential years to learn, why losing time learning through another language in order to learn the language. Because education is for all if you talk about Democracy, and by open it to all then you can claim that you are a democracy. Otherwise you will ask them to vote for what? Ignorance. Freeing the mind is needed”.

The confusion between learning English and getting a good Education is so strong that this inhibits the country's educational system and the country's development. Khamisi argues “Go to China and Japan, what are their practices? They use English for information but then they go through the information in their language. That is how they develop”. Khamisi goes on to say that “If we use our language, we will stand to win in the long run. We will see if people are interested in knowledge or in English because it is a terrible mistake to assume that English is knowledge”. This point of view was expressed by several professors and language experts, but I did not find that the emphasis on learning first and giving English a secondary role were emphasized in schools. These academicians have tried to convince the Ministry of Education to accept this point by investing their time, doing research and writing about their findings, and as Abdallah Shabab Ngodu, who is the Senior Education Officer in the Department of Policy and Planning Research Unit said to me “This is not a new subject! There is so much literature written about language of instruction”.

I found resistance to accepting these findings on language and learning in the Ministry of Education. The resistance is remarkable because of the consensus both within Tanzanian academia and abroad that the choice of a local language of instruction is important for good learning. In Tanzania, some of my academic informants proposed a kind of dual system, as Khamisi told me “Let's have a bilingual policy, English through to University and Kiswahili through to University”. However, many people fear this proposal and this makes change difficult. One of my interviewees said “How long will it take us to understand that we are not British”. One informant put it this way: “Tanzania has to consider that the shift has to be done without any fear to be able to progress and let the country develop itself in its own way”.

Martha Qorro (2004) argues that students will learn better English if it is taught as a second language. Moreover, Qorro (2004:98) points out that what should be emphasized in the learning of the languages is “to give students exposure to quality English by allowing English to be taught by only those who are qualified to teach it”. She argues that the shift could be done without any fear of losing anything. On the contrary Qorro (2004:109) points out that “the two languages compete for the same function and learners end up as losers”. Ngodu supports the view that the language of instruction plays an important role in the learning process, “it facilitates the learning process, and learning acquires the skills, the knowledge. That is why we have the 6 weeks English courses for learners and English is also taught as a subject in secondary”. He is convinced that the 6 weeks courses will help students to master English. However according (Qorro (1997:98) “If policy makers want to argue that the two sets of objectives are the same, that the main objective of education is the mastery of the English language, then that should also be clearly stated”.

The confusion between general learning and learning the English language has been mentioned by Rubagumya (2003) and it is mentioned in several contexts by Malekela (2003) and by Brock-Utne (2005). Education means the acquisition of knowledge, but for many Tanzanians, Education means acquiring English. As I pointed out in the previous section, this confusion is often related to economical factors, represented in this quote by one of the parents I interviewed mentioned: “Education without being able to use it is not worth anything, to have a job is what we need, and that is what we want for our children”.

In many private English schools, students are required to speak only English. Mr. Twaha, who teaches English in the private school, told me:

When you catch someone speaking Kiswahili, you ask them why they speak Kiswahili. They answer ‘because it is my language, teacher’. It is a dilemma for the child, they learn in Civics to love their culture and then tell them to speak English. It is difficult for them. Kiswahili is everywhere. English is like a punishment. If they speak Kiswahili they are punished. They are told to run until they are tired, or crouch with hands on the head. It does not hurt them, but it is a psychological punishment. They have a “sign”, where it is written “speak English” and they have to wear it.

The teacher showed me the “sign”; and I took a picture: *Plate 3*, in the appendix.

Professor Mulokozi of the Institute of Kiswahili Research/Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili (IKR-TUKI) at the University of Dar es Salaam explains the fascination with English this way:

Many of the officials and politicians who make decisions on educational matters were educated under the colonial system and still retain a colonial hangover regarding the language of education. They tend to see Britain as their model regarding curricula and education generally. Besides, there is too much meddling in our educational and economic affairs by organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the UK institutions, such as the British Council. They give some financial assistance with conditionality, including demands that the English language must be retained and used in education and other spheres. The World Bank and IMF often advise our countries in East Africa that it is not cost effective to use Kiswahili, that it is cheaper to use English.

Professor Kisanji added that “In the 80s we were ready to change to Kiswahili, but it did not happen. The cost was high, but now the demand for English is higher therefore parents are attracted, and the government believes in English. English market force dominates”.

4.3.2 Arguments in favor of Kiswahili

- Kiswahili is Tanzanian

Why would a country not use its language, Kiswahili, when it has a National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA)³² The National Kiswahili Council was founded in 1967 by a government act. It was given a budget and a staff with the mandate to develop Kiswahili and make sure the language is used properly in the media. According to Brock-Utne, 2008:104) “In 1967 Kiswahili became the medium of instruction throughout the primary school system in Tanzania”. However, the promotion of Kiswahili had begun much earlier, in the early 30s. It had been given the status of the official language for the inter-territorial East African Language Committee in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. After independence, the work of promoting the language was studied at followed at the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR-TUKI) at the University of Dar es Salaam.

In the 1980s the government gave consideration to implementing Kiswahili as a language of instruction, but in the end did not follow through and do it at all levels. The arguments were

³² BAKITA: Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (Tanzania)

that Kiswahili was not ready to be a language of instruction because of a lack of books and terminology. The Chief Academic Officer at the National Kiswahili Council told me that “In the 1980s those arguments were ok, but now they are using the same argument even if everything is ready”. Academicians have tried to convince the government that Kiswahili is mature. Since 1980’s both book publishers and the National Kiswahili Council have engaged in the development of scientific terminology. She concluded “We have enough dictionaries now, and we try to convince the government”.

Kiswahili is the African United language and African countries give financial support to the promotion of Kiswahili. Nonetheless, both the government and the Tanzanian people still have problems resulting from the fact that Kiswahili is not an international language comparing Kiswahili to English, French and other European languages. Mollel, said:

We are trying to have Kiswahili as one of the language in SADC (Southern African Development Committee), one of them with French, Portuguese. Then Tanzanians can deliver their speech in Kiswahili, they will feel free, there are things you can express in your language better. For example if you speak about rice, in Kiswahili you have rice in the field; it has another name when it is harvest and a lot of different names when it is cooked. But in English we know it as rice. In the field it is called “mpunga”, when it is harvest and remove the tasks is called “mchele”, when you cook it is called “wali”. You can prepare it in different ways and the name changes for example “ubwabwa”. You have so many type of cooked rice but in English it is just rice. It is the same for fish, if you are from the coast. This is why you can’t express yourself better in English but you can do it in Kiswahili or in the local language to be understood better”.

Many people argue that Kiswahili is not appropriate for science education, because there are theoretical concepts that cannot be expressed using Kiswahili. I was told by several sources that, Kiswahili is not regarded as an ‘education language’. However Mollel, a former geography teacher told me: “We came to a conclusion that I will teach in Kiswahili and give them the words in English because the exam is in English, but at least they understood”.

The costs of using Kiswahili in schools were also an issue for many informants, since writing and publishing books in Kiswahili would be expensive. Ulimwengu downplayed this point: “Yes as a local language it can be expensive, but we are lucky, we have Kiswahili. It is unfortunate that those kids cannot speak their mother tongue, you introduce them to Kiswahili and then before they master this language, you switch them to English, a foreign language”.

The widespread use of Kiswahili is a reality in most aspects of life in Tanzania, so why not let the people of the country learn in their own language instead of aiming to master a foreign language? A person who studies up to Medium in English is considered to be educated. English is equated with knowledge. Moreover, Khamisi points out that: “We are lucky to have Kiswahili as a national language, but if some wants to involve more languages it is not either or”.

Another point is that colonial mentality is still prevalent and many people believe that African culture amounts to nothing. The officer at the National Kiswahili Council told me “If African culture and language is not equated with “development” it is impossible to change. Japanese, Chinese started from scratch but not us”. She concludes “It is not a personal decision, it is a political decision, we are here to convince to change the education policy but with Globalization people are fearful, it is confusing”.

Ulimwengu argues in other words that using Kiswahili is the obvious choice since “In the Bantu languages, the concepts are familiar, you can give the children wisdom in Kiswahili. Their way of thinking is the same, therefore easier to transfer the knowledge. The way of thinking about problem, resolving them for example”. Mugizi further argues that “The language will never grow if it is not used. Their Kiswahili is not good, since at school it is standard and outside is colloquial. That is why they fail Kiswahili as a subject”.

The paradox in Tanzania is that Kiswahili is not taught well either. The language of instruction should make new concepts clear and if this is not done well, learning will be impeded. Mugizi explains that:

There is a problem even with Kiswahili as a language of instruction and children do not master either one Kiswahili or English. In government school, it is not well mastered. English deficiency is accumulated to secondary level and then how can it facilitates learning? It is then problematic; they are using a language that they do not master. Teachers do not have good command and are expected to teach in English. Parental aspiration for their children is to get a job, and they think being proficient in English is necessary. But pupils do not read and write English well. They are good at memorization, but are not taught apply concepts rigorously. Same complaints that all of us have, big and small companies repeatedly said this even a long time ago when I was working in human resources.

Ulimwengu added a similar statement:

That is false that bank will hire them because they know English, they better know their numbers, otherwise they will be dropped. The situation is that they know neither Kiswahili, English neither their mother tongue. The problem is that a lot of them think that it does not matter if you master Kiswahili because it will not bring you somewhere.

There is resistance to teaching in Kiswahili in secondary and tertiary level, in spite of the fact that the government has a council which works to develop the language and to avoid the misuse of the language, as well as to quality control translations. The officer at the National Kiswahili Council told me “It is ambivalent; the government gives money but is not sure. They are proud of this language as a national language, a language in the media, and in primary school level only”. Ulimwengu is convinced that the government should analyze the ways this is done in other countries and questions whether there is any country which has made progress by teaching their children in a foreign language. “From time to time I go on Internet and look at Asia, Europe, and what was the former Soviet Union, all those countries like Latvia, Ukraine, and see that they use their national language. Why not us? ” The government has a tendency to say “it is the parents who are sending their children to English Medium” and in fact they do. Khamisi who is the coordinator of a new project that will translate secondary books in Kiswahili (I will explain the project below), told me “You can teach English, that is fine, but teach it well and so then you can talk of Democracy, if you can express yourself. It is also a human rights problem; books in Kiswahili will broaden the base for education”.

One of the parents told me that “children in English have no foundation bases and teacher faces language problems” and “Even the teachers are not good in English”. If the teacher does not master the language how can the teacher give quality learning? Teachers need to learn better English and the government has to take this issue in consideration. The only way to insure that the child learns better is to provide his/her with quality teaching.

- **Quality learning**

A child learns best when she/he understands what the teacher says (Brock-Utne, 2005) and quality learning is about what will make the child develop her/himself. A child cannot learn without understanding what is taught, therefore the language of instruction is the key to understanding. The Head Monitoring and Development Section at the Ministry of Education, affirms that “Language and quality are associated and language is related to quality”. Ngodu

agrees in his answer to my question: What is the role of the language of Instruction in the learning process? He responded that “It facilitates knowledge, and improves communication. It helps the cognitive learning, but you can get it from the literature, so much has been written about it”. However this argument is not taken into consideration when it comes to policy planning even though there is no doubt that it is a key to quality learning.

It is obvious that many children who are forced to learn in English do not understand it well enough. This problem was elaborated by Mr. Saidi, who teaches Mathematics in the private school where I conducted field observations and interviews. He said:

When we use Kiswahili it is better than when we are using English, because most of them teachers and pupils use Kiswahili. When we come in the class we are using English, we are not so competent, not for them for teachers, for teaching in English, so if we use Swahili language it is better because I will feel free to say what I know, I can say what I want to say and then they understand what am I talking about, yes. When I am speaking Kiswahili, I am free, not also free, but very free instead of using English. I feel more comfortable than when I am using English. Also for children, here they are divided in 2 groups, one understands English well, then when you are teaching them they understand, but the other group do not understand English well, so when you are teaching them mathematics they are learning 2 things English and Mathematics at the same time which is very problematic.

This has a direct link to the result that Ngodu mentioned when I asked about pupils performance “in Math, the performance is poor, next is English, and Science is even worse. In secondary school it is Science then English. We have minor resources in Master level. Teaching itself has a poor quality”. I will come back to the issue of performance below by showing the latest results.

The Deputy Executive Secretary at NECTA (National Examination Council of Tanzania) confirmed Ngodu’s contention, saying that:

The examination result shows that students are very bad in Math; even in others with multiple choices it is not good. The essays in English are not well written in secondary school level, but in Kiswahili the essay are well written and understood. English is a problem. Government schools are average, and comprehension is average but the private schools are not doing so well either. The only one who does well is the church schools. They have good facilities and motivated teachers.

This statement was reconfirmed by a government officer “There is a school which performs best year after year, St Francis in Mbea. It is a Christian school, with nurses who teaches there and it is sponsored by the church. It is a girl school, and they perform very well at the

O³³ level exam. I will check at the A level, but did not do it yet. It can be a research project”. The officer at NECTA concluded as “Private schools are not performing nicely as they use to. It is a business; they wanted good results to attract. But someone has to do research on why church schools are doing better than other private schools which are doing average like the government even with more resources”. This view is consistent with Rubagumya’s (2003 quoted by Brock-Utne, 2008:105) claim that “while it is true that *some* EMP (English Medium Primary) schools are providing quality education, others are unfortunately just taking advantage of parents’ demand for EMP schools to make money, and in the process they short-change the parents”.

I have constructed a table based on the latest exam results. The raw data was sent to me by Ngodu (since they were not available while doing my field work), regarding standard 7 (Primary School Leaving Examination -PSLE).

Table 1. Candidates passed in standard 7:

Sl. No	Subjects	2007	2008
1	Kiswahili	80.23%	73.41%
2	English Language	31.31%	31.05%
3	Mathematics	17.42%	18.07%

SL.No = Selection Number

The table shows that the performance in Kiswahili declined from 2007 to 2008, which confirms the statement of Mugizi: “at school it is standard and outside is colloquial. That is why they fail Kiswahili as a subject”. English dropped slightly (though not significantly), from a low level, confirming the lack of quality learning. The exam results in Mathematics increased slightly, but remain very low. This reconfirms what the mathematics teacher in the private school said “when you are teaching them mathematics they are learning two things English and Mathematics at the same time which is very problematic”.

³³ Ordinary level (4 years in junior secondary school).

This data from the table merges results from both government and private/English medium schools. According to Ngodu, the division between government and private/English was not available. He wrote in an email correspondence “sometimes/somewhere our government treated and National-wise without separating issues of public and private schools but there some cases you can get them separately”.

The following table gives an overview of the results over the pass rate and selection rate over the last ten years:

Table 2. Standard 7 Pass rate from 1998-2008:

Sl.No.	Year	Pass rate in %	Selection rate in %
1	1998	21.3	19.1
2	1999	19.3	18.8
3	2000	22.0	21.7
4	2001	28.6	22.4
5	2002	27.1	21.7
6	2003	40.1	30.1
7	2004	48.7	36.1
8	2005	61.8	49.3
9	2006	70.48	67.5
10	2007	54.18	90.29
11	2008	52.73	80.73

The figures are treated as % not numbers. It means that in 2008, 52,73 % of the students who took the exams passed them and 80, 73% of these were selected to join secondary schools.

These data show that the exam results have been very poor. The officer at NECTA, told me:

We are excited to look at the results which are coming when you see some results, you want to cry. You see that some pupils understand the ideas but cannot express it because of the language barrier. We speak Kiswahili and know that the idea means something and the child could have express it well in Kiswahili but the English language is a problem for them. And we cannot give those credits for that. So much potential is lost.

One can question whether poor exam results are related to student abilities in school subjects or abilities in the language (Qorro, 2004). This raises the question of how the older generation learned English and how did the teachers teach?

Mulokozi said:

When we were studying English at school, many of the teachers were from the USA, India and Europe; they were good and we had good books and school and class libraries. I remember in my class each pupil had to read one novel per week and write a report on the story. That means reading about 50 novels per year. By the time you finished, you could read and write English well. But today there is nothing like that and youngsters learn poor English. If you want to have good results, you have to invest and there is no way a child can learn a foreign language without reading books. I don't see how to succeed otherwise. Now they pushed English to standard I, it used to be taught from standard 3 because being able to master the national language, to read and write well in Kiswahili first, was deemed important. Now some politicians and specialists are toying with the idea of abolishing Kiswahili as a medium, under the false belief that abolishing Kiswahili would make kids master English better. Parents from the upper class send their kids abroad and the middle class parents send their kids to private schools at a cost of two to three million shilling (sometimes more) per year, just in order to make them learn English.

Yet the solution to the "English problem" is simple. The government needs to do the following:

- a) Accept that English in Tanzania is a foreign, not a second, language, and teach it as a foreign language;
- b) Arising from (a), teach the language very well, with all the necessary facilities, books and teachers. If necessary, hire capable teachers from abroad or from neighboring countries;
- c) Teaching English as a foreign language demands change of methodology, as well as curriculum. It also demands that English be taught all the way from standard III

to University as a subject, while Kiswahili serves as the medium for the other subjects. The situation at present is that English is taught – badly – up to form IV, after which it is assumed that the students have mastered and do not need to study it anymore;

He completed his point of view by giving me some examples:

They (in Uganda) wanted to teach Kiswahili in the schools in the 80's but were reportedly told by the World Bank that they will not be supported if they did so. They had to abandon using Kiswahili until two years ago. They waited 20 years! I will tell you an example, in the 60's-70's, Tanzania hired a consultant from Britain to advise the government on the question of the "falling standards" in English, and whether English was still suitable as an educational medium [You know, then, as now, our rulers think that it is better to hire consultants from abroad partly because of the hangover I talked about, and partly because Tanzanian consultants are deemed to be too patriotic]. Those consultants had to admit the fact that English was no longer serving as a suitable medium of education; that it was now an obstacle to learning; but when it came to suggesting the way out, the experts recommended more English teaching. After all, they were from the UK, and UK wants the use of her language to continue. Another example, in 1991 the book sector stakeholders set up a project known as the Children's Book Project. Its mission was to promote writing and production of books in Kiswahili for children. At that time there were hardly any books for children in Kiswahili, other than school books. Many countries supported the project like Sweden, Norway, Canada, and the Netherlands, but UK did not want to. When they (UK, through the British Council) saw that the project was successful (after having produced almost 300 Kiswahili titles), they decided to support production of several English language titles in the project.

Regarding Tanzania government support for Kiswahili, Mulokozi points out that the government supports the Institute of Kiswahili Research, since the university is a government institution. They also finance the other institutions dealing with promotion of Kiswahili, although the amounts provided are not adequate.

Student unrest and dissatisfaction is another issue that may be related to the quality of teaching. Drop outs are a problem in primary schools. When I asked about high dropout rates and whether they were related to the language problem, Ngodu pointed out that "Statistics, shows that drop outs are not due of language issues, but because of truancy, absenteeism. 77% are caused by absenteeism in primary; the other reasons are pregnancy, death, illness, but not the language". However Brock-Utne³⁴ (2009) writes that "absenteeism may certainly have to do with conditions of schooling, teachers who do not show up, over-crowded classrooms, irrelevant curricula".

³⁴ By correspondence the 20th April, 2009.

During my field work two different strikes were going on at the same time one by students at the university and the other by primary teachers. As a result of the students strike, the university was forced to close. Based on my assessment, the Education sector needs reforms and the government needs to hear that the changes they have made have not been the right ones. Kisanji said:

We advocate for Kiswahili as a Language of Instruction, via sector dialogues structure at the ministry. We are members and we speak about this in all forums but in some places we meet challenges who cannot be ignored. People are arguing for a continuation of the current policy at the time of market economy, competition, not only at a global level but also at the regional level. In the East African community, children in Kenya and in Uganda communicates in English more efficiently. Here in Tanzania, they will employ people who master English, they employ Kenyan and Ugandan who are fluent in English, written and spoken. As the system open up people can move and work and the trend is to employ English speakers. Our arguments are children learn better in a language they understand but at the same time globalization, privatization are pushing towards English medium, even parents do.

4.4 Public versus private education

The most recent statistics on educational trends show that from the 10th of July 2008 to the 9th of October 2008, the numbers of private pre- and primary schools have grown from 502 to 518, which mean an increase of 16 schools in a 3 month periods. In 2008, 22 schools are using Kiswahili, 490 use English and the remaining 6 schools are using another language (Shule za Msing za Serikali 15300). Over the same period in 2008, the number of government primary schools did not increase. See the tables under (Statistics from the MoEVT are in the appendix A)

Table 3. Private combined Pre and primary schools:

PERIOD	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
10/07/2008	435	16	3
9/10/2008	452	15	3

Table 4. Private primary schools:

PERIOD	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
10/7/2008	38	7	3
9/10/2008	38	7	3

If we look at the statistics from 2006 to 2008 (table 5), the growth rate of private schools is increasing. They indicate that 490 pre-primary and primary schools are teaching in English in 2008, compared to 331 in 2006 and 429 in 2007. This means that there was an increase of 98 schools teaching in English from 2006 to 2007 and an increase of 159 schools from 2006 to 2008.

However the primary schools only are not increasing but stagnating from 2006 to 2008 with 38 schools teaching in English but from 8 schools to 7 schools teaching in Kiswahili.

Table 5. Private combined Pre and primary schools:

YEAR	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
2006	293	13	2
2007	389	16	3
2008	452	15	3

Table 6. Private primary schools:

YEAR	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI	OTHERS
2006	38	8	3
2007	40	8	3
2008	38	7	3

4.4.1 Government support to private schools

I found that the government not only accepts the growth of private schools in the country but also supports it. “The establishment and ownership and management of primary schools shall be liberalized” (Tanzania Government 1995a:36 quoted by Rugemalira, 2005:68). Ngodu explains this support:

It is a big demand, that is why they are growing and it is an investment, it takes time but it is sustainable. Government cannot afford to stop it, private owner can make a benefice and student as well as Parents used to send their kids to Kenya and Uganda to study because of the English, but find it cheaper to pay a private school in Tanzania and it is for the use of English in Primary. It is not a problem for the government since English is allowed in Primary.

Even though government primary schools are teaching in Kiswahili, I found that government officials see no contradiction in the use of Kiswahili in government schools and their support for the growth of English language private schools. The government simply responds to the parents’ demands and takes advantage of the national and international funding available. It seems that the interests of the child are not taken into account, nor are the pedagogical issues. However this was prevented from being implemented because the Tanzanian Government in 1992 allowed only private primary schools which taught in a language other than Kiswahili. The Education Amendment Act in 1995 changed this policy. Government official Ngodu said that: “There is even a government English Primary School in Arusha. Thus the government permits the teaching of both Kiswahili and English in primary school”. This is in spite of the fact that the policy about Medium of Instruction 5.3.7 p.39 says “The medium of

Instruction in primary school shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject”. Moreover Ngodu affirmed that there is also a Government Circular which allows English to be taught in Primary schools. He says that TIE (Tanzania Institute of Education) has a full mandate to develop the curriculum and quoted from a document that he had in his office that “TIE, major function is to designing, developing, reviewing and/or revising the curricula at the pre-primary, primary, secondary and teaching training levels”. I asked for a copy of the Circular, but never got it in spite of promises by several government officials. Ngodu informed me by personal correspondence that “Kiswahili will be taught as subject and language of instructions while English Language will be taught as subject and means of communication. I am not sure if there will be some modifications on this policy statement, but I am sure that the document for revised Education and Training Policy will be ready (in place) before the end of this year”.

4.4.2 Parents support to private schools

Parents are supportive of private schools, mainly because of their better facilities but also because teachers have better salaries. They pointed out that private school teachers do not have to strike to get their salaries (referring to the teacher strike in public schools which took place during my fieldwork). Another factor that was mentioned by parents was that if the teacher is happy she/he will not change schools as often and this will be better for the pupils learning process. Teachers change schools more often in government schools because their salaries are so low.

The expectation that English would be taught at a better level was also an issue that parents took seriously. The mother of the best student of Grade 5 in the private school told me “Look at me, I learned English at a government school and I cannot communicate with you, I understand what you are saying but cannot answer. I don’t want my daughter to be like me; therefore I put her in an English Medium”.

The “myth” of internationalization discussed above was also prominent in parent’s opinions about private schools. A father told me that “Tanzanians speak Kiswahili today but tomorrow it might be French. And if my child leaves the country, if he goes to Norway, he will have to learn the language, they will say that one of the conditions is to know their language, Norway is one of them but it is the same in Japan”.

Using English skills as a means to get into university was a repetitive argument made by parents. One father, a retired government official said:

I have a dream that my daughter goes to university. How can she go to university if she does not speak English well? She will not understand what is taught; therefore I put my daughter to international schools since the government educational system has been destroyed because the government does not give found to the schools. There are so many problems I struggle with finding money but I told you I have a dream that my daughter gets a good education.

His retirement as a government official is so small that he can't offer the fees and struggles to achieve his dream. He is convinced that the dream will not be realized unless his daughter pursues her education in a private school.

Another argument which parents used for putting their children in English language schools was a shortage of capacity in government schools. Growth in government secondary schools is so slow that from 2005 the demand for students has not been met. Parents have put their children in private primary schools because of the possibility that they would have to continue their education in a private secondary.

4.5 Lack of resources

It was clear that language was a factor for parents when they evaluate the relative merits of public and private schools, but resources play an important role as well. The lack of books, the school environment and teacher motivation are major problems in public schools. Another important consideration is transportation. In this section I will address these resource issues, beginning with transportation. I will begin with a discussion of transportation, and then discuss the problem of learning materials and high student teacher ratios.

4.5.1 Transportation

The transport problem is one of the important reasons given by parents for their choice of private schools "In 2002, you were selected to a secondary school, you might be taken very far or you might be taken to another region and there is a problem with the transport". The distance between home and school means that children either must be driven to school or

they must take public transportation, both of which are costly. Furthermore, the transportation systems are unreliable and routing often requires changes of bus lines and long commuting times. Many parents claimed that it is easier to choose a private school since the transport problem would be resolved. One English teacher told me:

Myself I have chosen 3 schools but I was selected to a very, very far school and the government took me to another village and I was walking about 3 hours. I had to wake up at 4 am every day and get to school at 8 and when I left school I got home when it is dark. So you can choose a school and you will not be selected there”. Because we do not have government transfer, so children suffer a lot. And if they cannot offer the transport, we might as well put our children to private schools.

4.5.2 Learning materials

Most of the essential resources are lacking in public schools, including books, chairs, chalk and fans. The private school I observed had a lack of resources as well. The problem was not as big as that of government schools, but many private schools had shortages of many essential items.

Many parents were concerned about the lack of books available, even though many of them with children in both private and public schools said they could not afford books even if they were available. The private school in my study has a library but children are not allowed to take books home. There are only 7 textbooks available for the 20 students in the English class. These were donated by the teacher, who said “The principal told me since you don’t have responsibilities, not married, no kids, why don’t you donate the books to Grade 5. And I did, I bought 7 English books and 7 exercise books, because there were no books when I arrived. And if I did not, I know they will fail”. In government schools the teacher has a guide book, and the student has to copy every exercise from the black board. In the private school they could use those books in groups, at least in English class. The teacher made 4-5 groups of 4-5 pupils to share the exercise books. They would not use time to copy the exercise, so they could use their time in actually doing the exercise. They had no books in mathematics either, so they had to use the method used in government schools, copying the exercises from the black board.

There is pressure on teachers in both private and public schools to contribute money or materials. Many of the teachers I interviewed felt that it is their responsibility to help, even if

their salaries are low and that they can't afford to buy materials to students. How can we expect teachers to put educational theory into practice given this condition?

There are not sufficient resources for basic equipment like books, so that things like laboratories, technical equipment and excursions are out of the question. A teacher, thinking aloud said that:

A school should have an external expose, you see we are learning about Urafiki factory textile or whatever, but we don't go to the factory. We don't go out that much, even in our school. If you learn about the Ikilambo Sugar, it is better to go there and see; we don't go there most of the time. The practical is important, but we don't do like that.

It was obvious that the school does not have sufficient resources. It costs money to take pupils to a factory. In private schools some parents could afford this but not in government schools. However, even if private schools have more resources compared to government schools, this is a dilemma for them too.

The English teacher in the private school, Mr. Twaha compares a school to a hospital with this metaphor:

The school should be facilitated. Facilities in the sense of books, enough books. Just like in the hospital if you don't have laboratory, or no microscopes, it is like a school without books. You need the books, the chairs and table, but sometimes there is not enough chairs and the pupils have to squeeze here and to squeeze there, and it is not enough. And the school should be well ventilated, like here in Dar es Salaam, the schools are not good, it is so hot, the school needs to be very well ventilated. The school should have a good staff of teaching, because sometimes the school fails to have good staff teachers. Specially the government schools, it is a big problem.

The resources were better in private schools, but there were great differences in the resources at home. When I asked the pupils what could improve their learning process at home the answers were very different. At the government schools, the thing they wanted most was to have a table at home where they could do their homework, and one of the pupils said "the one we have holds so many activities". They wanted quietness to be able to study, and books to be able to read more at home. Pupils in the private schools wanted computers, extra tutoring and books. These answers show that the conditions at home are important, but students in both private and public schools mentioned the lack of books as a problem. This is accordance with.

4.5.3 High student teacher ratios

The most acute problem of government vis-à-vis private schools is the high student teacher ratios. Government schools have between 40 to 100 pupils in an average class while Private schools have between 20 to 40 pupils. A teacher in a government school told me that “We have 70 in standard 5, but we have 2 screams, one is with 37 and one is 33 students per class. And here it is little compare to other school. In private the students are about 20 per class. And the consequence will be the teaching quality. How can we teach in the same way to 20 and 35? The amount of students will differentiate the amount of teaching since we will have more students who will need more help, therefore the time will be diminished”.

In answering my question what is a good school for you? Many teachers drew attention to the problem of too many students in a classroom. One teacher said this:

A good school should have an appropriate number of students. Another characteristic of a good school is that the school should have a good staff in term of management of the school, sharing ideas among the staff, avoiding misunderstanding, and consideration of affairs. That means a good school should pay the workers enough wages to modernize the capacity of working. Another characteristic of a good school is in terms of health. Environment should be clean, not noisy for the learning activities, if you have a school near a market you will have noise pollution, it means that that will have interference of the academic process. It should be an environment conducive for the learning process. The last is to take care of the students, that they get enough meals for example breakfast, lunch, to have a program which cares about such needs that is very good for a school. I think that is enough for characteristics of a good school.

Salaries were also an important issue. The teachers in both government and private complained about their salaries. A teacher told me:

I think you are aware that now the teachers are on strikes because they have some claims to the government. They are not paid enough salary; they are not paid some allowances, for example rent allowance, leave, unpaid holiday, but not even medical allowances. They are allowed to have 28 days within per year which should be paid, but they are not paid. According to the law, they should be paid, but they are not.

As a consequence of the non-payment or the poor payment is that teachers seek jobs in private sectors. The officer at the TIE said this:

Another strategy paper is the TDMS (Teacher Development Management Strategies) on the web. The program upgrades the masses teachers like the Grades C+ teachers.

We call them C-B-A according to their studies. Teachers went to secondary and teacher training but often they go to private sectors. We trained them and they leave.

One teacher told me “If a teacher is not paid well, the work will be poor”. Teachers are forced to give tuition in order to bolster their salaries. This is the case for teachers in both private and government schools.

An important conclusion from this study is that improving the quality of teaching is dependent on giving the teachers better conditions. Teaching is a profession which is extremely important for the country’s development. To educate its citizens well, the teachers have to be well educated, but they also have to have good conditions in order to perform well. If conditions are not improved, the country will continue to face a shortage of teachers. A government official told me:

The population is growing therefore private schools are growing in Tanzania. Parents want their children to communicate with the world. But now from standard 1 the big problem is that we don’t have enough competent teachers. We have a shortage of teachers, we don’t have enough teachers. We need more than 50 000 primary teachers and more than 20 000 secondary teachers. They are needed under the Primary Education Development Program and Secondary Education Development Program under those program we try to expend teachers. We have more colleges and concentrate on the academic and they will go to school to practice one year. We think by 2015 we will achieve the Education for All (EFA) target goal. We will have few problems if we solve the teacher’s problem. There is also an expansion of Universities. People are expending private Universities. We are encouraging them.

It does not make sense to meet the growth in the student population by the addition of private schools. The government has to insure quality teaching and even though private schools seem to be the solution at the moment, they will lead to problems in the long run, such as exacerbating inequalities. The problem is not only inequalities in salary, but also differing quality in the curriculum. Curriculum issues were emphasized by teachers, and many of them complained about the way curriculum changes had been carried out: A teacher from a private school told me “Since 2006, the curriculum changes in term of contents and materials; they change a lot including for the teachers. You know when I come to another place I see that they changed the curriculum. I learned differently, I do differently; maybe this is a cause of the negative change in the academic development”.

No one I talked with was aware of these changes. I found that in both government and private schools neither staff nor were parents not really prepared or informed properly. A frustrated teacher told me:

They should improve the environment of our schools, the environment to improve the teacher's capacities, because they have to provide us many seminars according to the changes of the curriculum. They do it in a small extent, but not for a large extent. And nowadays the amount of students in a class is 40 minimum, but it could be 30, 30 is better.

He further argues that it concerns not only the curriculum but also the examinations:

We are not having a good information system; we are not informed on time. Because for example the previous Grade 4 had an examination, and we know it today and the next day they had the examination which is very dangerous. We should know a month before or a week at least but not a day before. And this is the Mock (a type of examination set with the standard of National Examination (both format and content coverage) for the particular level of education (mostly Primary or Secondary). It can be conducted in the following levels (school, ward, District, Regional or Zonal). Its aim is to orient the pupils/student to sit for National Examination as related to me by Ngodu. We had to force the academic department to know as soon as possible, because it will take place next week. We know about the national examination now a week before but for the Mock a day before. If the school does not have a good information system, even the administration then it is not easy for us.

If the administration itself is not well informed, how can teachers be expected to be informed? A lack of familiarity with the curriculum will of course have consequences on the pupils' performance in the schools. As one teacher put it, "if we are not prepared for the new curriculum how can we teach it well?"

We learn English from st.1 to 7 and maybe it is 1% who understands others cannot understand or speak English. Some completed Form 4, and don't know how to speak English, others are in Form 6 and don't know how to speak English. Others are at the university now and they don't know how to speak English. I don't know what is wrong, is it the curriculum or what? On my side for example, I really don't know what to say here. I think the curriculum is too much, not really good, it is not very good. We grow up without a good foundation of the subjects which are very much concerned; maybe English we grow up with no good foundation that is why we don't know. To improve, it is to utilize the curriculum and found out what is the real foundation to the subject concern, to implement them.

This was related by an English teacher with a great deal of frustration. And this goes beyond the primary or secondary level. The NECTA's officer told me:

Look at the students in the campus, they are sitting outside to study because there are not enough place to be in the libraries, they are so small. And the results of those factors is that somebody from the World Bank came on, concentrated only on the pedagogy and not the content of our curriculum and now they are changing it again. It changes from time to time and the teachers don't follow the changes".

This resource issue is an important reason why it is attractive for parents to put their children in private schools. The NECTA officer told me "Even if our parents did not go to school, the facilities were better; we had books, libraries, and good teachers, especially in English. The facilities are not there, no laboratories, how can you do well in science with no laboratories. He gives the example of the problem of impurities. They used to do experiments with mercury, but because of contaminating with dust, they must now resort to theoretical explanations instead of practical experiments".

In comparing the choice of government schools or private schools, the role that resources play is an important factor in the learning facilities that I have focused on. Parents confuse the respective advantages of language of instruction and resources. They do not have a clear understanding of the language and resource issues and therefore are not able to assess their roles in education. They tend to attribute the advantages of private schools to the use of English language rather than to the access to greater resources. It is not because of learning English that children are doing well in private schools, but rather because of better access to resources. I found out that parents have difficulties in assessing quality learning due to this confusion and it is necessary that policy-makers take this into consideration.

4.6 Discussion

Many experts were concerned that the trend towards the use of English and in the growth of private schools would bring greater injustice in education. The experienced journalist Ulimwengu said "The children from the government schools will be the servant of the children from the private schools. When I was in school I had nothing to envy".

He went on to predict that if the imbalances between private and public schools are not corrected, the gap between the rich and the poor will be reinforced and the divisions in the society will become greater "not only between the rich and the poor but also religion-wise. The religion lines are very bad, now they go to religion schools all over to University. You

have Muslim ones and Christian ones. The division is going towards religion and towards rich and poor. So we are raising those issues to build a united nation but not a divided nation” argued Kisanji.

In her recent article “The effects of the neo-liberal agenda on education in some African countries” Brock-Utne (2008:92-95) argues that:

The reintroduction of the school fees and so called “cost-sharing” is a burden to poor parents, who often have many children, and who will not be able to afford to enroll their children in school. Furthermore, she mentions the case of Tanzania in the mid-1980’s and “the pressure on the Tanzanian government by the IMF/the World Bank and bilateral donors to reintroduce school fees, liberalize the text-book sector and open up for private primary schools...The ideology, which I here term globalization, leads to a democratic deficit, increases income differences and forces new groups into poverty”.

Concerning the language issue, the educational choices are becoming more political and people are afraid of change. The former leader of the NGO “Haki Elimu” which means “Right to Education” in Kiswahili, Mr. Rakesh Rajani, wrote to me his view about the language issue:

In Tanzania English has come to symbolize intelligence, progress, connection, power. Private schools therefore teach it -- so as to offer parents a promise of upward mobility for their children. Since the overall quality of Swahili medium public schools are so poor-- it is difficult to come up with counter examples of intelligent learning in Swahili. Besides the advocates for Swahili have come across as Anti-English, when what would be more effective is turn this issue less of English versus Swahili (or other mother tongue) to both, i.e. that one can become proficient in English as well as other subjects when the base language of instruction is one that you are comfortable in. These arguments have not been made fully. So at the end of the day it comes down to all the powerful people in all sectors send their children to private schools in English medium, and have no personal incentive to reform the public school system LoI contradiction.

Mulokozi expressed some of the same sentiments:

The linguistic consciousness of the people is low and the government does not bother to make them more aware. Many people are for English and believe that what the government says is fine. Parents look at the issue from the perspective of economic gain and upward mobility for their kids, and we cannot blame them. The current policy is to force pupils to master English, often by employing harsh measures and punishments, yet it is not happening. Why and how was possible in the past, when we could learn and master English after 5 years? Why not now?

In my field work, I found that most Tanzanians do not speak English. Even though I had taken some Kiswahili classes before I left, I was not able to express myself much. In the university campus restaurants, no one could serve me because they could not communicate in English. Since the menus are in Kiswahili, I had to take my dictionary with me to be able to order lunches and dinners. I tried to find students who could help me and a few succeeded. However, many struggled and could not find basic vocabulary in English. This is consistent with what Line Kjølstad Gran (2007:67) mentioned in her master's thesis, based on fieldwork in Tanzania: "During the time of my fieldwork, I was often surprised by the discrepancy between peoples' insistence on using English as the language of instruction in the schools system and their general unwillingness to talk to me in English".

These limited English skills made me wonder how students could understand a lecture at a university level. This reconfirmed what Professor Justinian C.J. Galabawa, director of the Bureau of Educational Research and Evaluation (BERE) told me while I was having an informal conversation in his office "when I teach in the Master level, I have to explain in Kiswahili otherwise they will not understand. They are teachers also. I can't have an academic discourse with them in English". This makes me wonder who in the Tanzanian society has mastered English. After questioning several informants about this, answers such as "the elite" often came up. However as one of my informants mentioned "they think they favor elite but actually they do not favor them since they do not read and write well. They are good at memorization, but cannot apply the concept". When discussing with Professor Galabawa the fear of change which I had detected in my first interviews, he explained that "Fear is the important word, and it will not change over time. Globalization, they don't understand this meaning. To invest in Kiswahili is a strong investment for the future; it will bring benefits, in the long term. But in the short term English brings benefits".

The ministry of Education and Vocational Training does not agree with Galabawa. He said that:

Tanzanians believe government is better than private that is why they emerge. They put their kids in Private only in Primary level and if the child succeeds, they will put her/him in a government secondary...Government schools are really improving specially in rural area. They are better than private, statistic shows that results are better. Government schools are leading in the advance level. When they join the government schools, each level produce candidates which join the higher education. The majority prefer government universities than private one.

Another government official at the MoEVT says that:

Private institutions are small and the audience is small. And if you have few schools it is easy to take care of them and get good quality. It is like a family, if you have few children it is easy to give them more attention than if you have many. However, Language of Instruction is necessary for learning and you learn because you have received some instruction, you learn because you get aware of new concept. LoI is basic for learning.

These statements show that government schools can be attractive if the student-teacher ratio is smaller and if the language of instruction is understood. However the reality is different and the drive towards private schooling is real. We cannot continue giving credence to statements such as that of the officer from TIE:

The conditions are hostile, but we are enjoying democratizing the system. It is the stake holders who decides, and if they stake holders says so and pay. It was allowed because the demand was there. It is a national policy, it is intentional, and the government promotes privatization, and gave priority to private sectors. They show good performance, but also private can be bad, good and bad. Then it is an exodus, they go out. What should it be a debate, but to teach a language one has to do it through another language, what is the problem? Clarification of concept might need a multilingual system and Kiswahili is contextual. They will say “a, ha” with a local language as well.

This statement contradicts those of the academics quoted above. During my field work I heard these contradictions from government officers virtually every day. I was able to observe that what was happening outside their office was not coincident with what I was hearing inside their offices. Furthermore, when my interviews were over, and my pens and notebooks were in my bag, the conversation went on. That is when I realized that they had one discourse as a government officer and another one as a normal person.

As many of my informant agreed, the use of Kiswahili as a language of Instruction is even more important in the rural areas. For this reason, it was unfortunate that I did not have time to observe the LOITASA selected school in Morogorro. However I did visit Morogorro community and my informant there (a local government official) made a strong case for the fact that the use of English is virtually nonexistent there. I went to a rural area near Morogorro and I could not find anyone who could communicate in English. Ulimwengu said “work in rural areas does not attract but Language Education Policies are made towards work in urban areas”. Moreover he affirmed that:

Jobs are in the rural area, make agriculture attractive, and teach the young people that agriculture is where the life is. They run away from labor because they have to dig holes and are not paid. The agriculture can be it, think about it on small holdings, the family holding. And where English will play a role in that?

It seems that striving after English and English language jobs only makes sense in the urban areas.

Furthermore, Kiswahili is also the language of politicians; they make most of their speeches in Kiswahili. It is the official language of the Parliament, circulars, and cabinet papers. Public meetings and rallies are in Kiswahili. Mulokozi added:

Otherwise nobody outside the towns will understand. Probably about 2% of the people in the village speak English, and in town less than 10% have mastered English. That is our estimate: since less than 10% finish secondary school and in Tanzania you have to finish secondary schools to master any English.

Mulokozi points to the fact that UPE (Universal Primary Education) was introduced by Nyerere, and that this was later dropped. The problem is not the money but the priority. According to Mulokozi:

With Nyerere Education was number one priority and we succeeded because we had enough libraries, books, and teachers. Today, there is money but it is misused. Look around you and see how many Japanese luxury cars there are, the huge 4-wheel drive ones known as *shanginis*, 40 000 of those monsters are reported to be owned by the government. Similarly, the cost of the political system is very high. Now they are increasing the number of Parliamentarians with an additional 130 MPs, in the process raising the budget by 51 billion TSh.³⁵ in the next 5 years. That money should have been invested in Education. The EPA (External Payment Arrears) scandal now shows that 300 billion Tanzanians Shillings were stolen from the central bank. Such monies could have been invested in Education.

The Chief Education Officer affirms that:

To use Kiswahili will be nice, the students will learn better but we have to translate and train the teachers. We don't have the money; if your country gave us money we can do it. The budget is growing to 18% of the Growth National Product this year and that statistics shows in July 2008 that the budget was 594 million and in 1996 it was only 63 millions. It is not enough she added. We have a bigger ministry than we had before. This year 900 000 teachers have been trained in the colleges.

However, Dr Kisanji had a different view:

³⁵ Tshilling: Tanzania's currency.

The Education budget is not increasing but declining. It went from 18, 8% and now it is 17%. The allocation to secondary school went from 15, 7% to 10, 4%, so it is decreasing. The donor's general budget support and review will be decided if more or not. But the commitment cannot be always there, the commitment is not every year. The proportion is reducing because the government increases the tax collection which is an improvement but corruption is increasing as well.

This corruption issue came up several times while I was in Tanzania, associated with the EPA scandal, as Mulokozi mentioned. However, Brock-Utne in her book "Whose education for all?" mentions that the book industry has been taken over by enterprises in western countries and that this is one of the reasons why Tanzania is suffering in the publication sector. The World Bank opened the book market to foreign firms. There was a bidding process, and the winner was a publisher with its office in Washington DC, situated front of the World Bank's office. This opening to western countries contributes to the fact that books are not as available as they are in the other parts of the world, including developing countries such as India. Some Tanzanians attribute the absence of books to a claim that reading is not truly African. A government English teacher, Mrs Benny, Salome Peter Mshanga, told me "Books are not part of the African culture, we do not have the reading culture", even though newspapers in Kiswahili are sold in every part of Tanzania, both in urban and rural areas. As mentioned by Gran (2007:72):

By the entrance of the campus area at the University of Dar es Salaam... Brock-Utne and I talked with Mr. Lincoln who sells newspapers at one of these stands. We asked him which newspapers he sells more of, the Kiswahili ones or the English ones. Mr. Lincoln told us that he definitely sells more of the newspapers written in Kiswahili, and that it is mainly foreigners and some professors who buy the English ones.

The Tanzanian rate of literacy in Kiswahili is high and academicians regularly buy and read the Kiswahili newspapers. I was often in professors' offices looking for the newspapers of the day, but was most often told "I have it, but in Kiswahili". Ulimwengu refuted this point that Africans have not taken to books and reading by pointing to their willingness to accept virtually everything else Western. He said "Why did Africa take the refrigerator and ties, we do not have this culture either, refrigerator goes with reading books. We adapted to refrigerators and even ties who are not useful for us".

Culture adapts itself to new different ways of being, of living and of speaking. Ulimwengu tells about how British adapted the English language around the dining table: "100 years ago, British were looking down at their language, but were looking up at the French, Latin and

Greek. You ate like a French man: look at the vocabulary they uses at the table, a sheep becomes mutton (mouton); a cow at the table becomes beef (boeuf). Behind the language was the idea of French for living and Latin for learning”. And he added:

We should look at our language in the 13th century, Kiswahili was written. Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Literature price was telling me that we should make an effort and maybe have 3 blocks of language. Kiswahili for East Africa, Wolof/Bambara for West Africa, Berber/Arab in the North and if a child can master 3 of those languages, he could travel all over the continent, and he will be a proper African.

This idea could complete the idea of the Ghanaian anthropologist & sociologist, Kwesi Kwaa Prah when he writes that Africa needs a harmonization of languages (Prah, 2003). African languages are important for Africa. The principal curriculum developer at the TIE told me that “Our new agenda is Arabic. We want Arabic in the secondary and the demand grows. If the demand is there, and the school chooses the language, why not? We follow up and if the results are not good we can suggest to the MoEVT to change. It was allowed because the demand was there”. Arabic is today an African language since it is the language used in North Africa, but it is not originally African, since it was brought in by invaders. However, it is an international language. I have also seen that the French language is on the curriculum. Mulokozi told me “the French are working hard to promote their language in Tanzania, especially since many countries in Africa are promoting English”. After an informal conversation with the French teacher at the University of Dar es Salaam, I found out that grants for teachers and formations in French in the FSP (Fond Special Project) program are now awarded through a new program. Grants are available to promote French in Tanzania. To teach these languages is fine but the way they are being implemented in the curriculum is wrong. French is introduced in the first grade at the same time as English, with no French-speaking teachers, therefore one wonders why a curriculum would implement a new language knowing that there are no teachers available yet. This is a part of the confusion I experienced concerning language and learning. Ulimwengu explained the situation thusly: “we went backwards when it comes to Education. And I don’t believe that there is something more important than Education”.

The metaphor of Professor Khamisi describes how education can be improved:

If you fish with a small boat and you have a net, you will get more, and that is what we need, more and they will start moving. We have to educate and make a surplus in

order to develop, people have to be involved. And how can you educate people without the language. We educate people through language and if the language is foreign to them how can we educate them.

Khamisi invests time now in his new project (described below) saying that “it is going to succeed, the government will be “a laughing stock” and people who teach science now and who are poor in English, will feel free to express themselves. That will be the new step when it comes to language and Education”. There are many Tanzanians working on those issues, believing that innovations are necessary. Mugizi believes that:

Tanzania has to think out of the box. We have the resources, but we do not manage them well. You cannot train a teacher overnight. We could computerize teaching, organize so that we have cheaper computers and invest there. We will have more access; we can have more television with a session from somebody or either radio sessions where they learn. With computer we can make it interactive this can be done in urban areas. Then we can concentrate more on rural areas where there is no electricity. We can give teachers a better incentive to teach there, a better environment as well. The NGO Haki Elimu proposed this, but it did not go so far. Otherwise drop outs are increasing, and we have an angry youth, even in villages but it is worse in town. We have to give people more options.

If Tanzania has the resources, which I believe they do, and ideas which they do, there is no doubt that the country can be self sufficient in their educational system and policies. They have chosen a language (Kiswahili) which is used all over the country and there is a clear theoretical consensus around the world that the easiest way to learn is to learn in the language one understands best. Resistance to this brings only confusion and that is what I have experienced during my field work.

There is a need for a paradigm shift from English to Kiswahili, but according to my informants this will take time. I found that the current situation is oppressive for lower middle class and poor people, and that an effort should be made to accelerate the paradigm shift. The recent policies of liberalization in the Education sector bolsters enrollment and thus satisfies the main preoccupation of the government. “Privatization of Education is not a problem, we even support it” said government officials to me often. Brock-Utne (2008:105) writes “Fredua-Kwarteng and Ahia see the market economy policies of the government and deterioration in conditions in public elementary schools as responsible for this trend”. Schools are growing like mushrooms all over the country, but the infrastructures are very poor. Those schools are without enough qualified teachers, without enough desks, and without books. The question of government versus private schools also divides the pupils

and the country. In private schools the resources are better, therefore pupils can get a better education, but again this division will create stronger education inequalities and limit the advancement of a huge number of poor and disadvantaged children. Brock-Utne (2008:93) adds:

A policy which creates a dual school-system, in which the powerful elites have their children in private schools where classes are small, teachers have good salaries and there is plenty of instructional materials while the public, government-financed schools continue to be poorly financed and overcrowded, teachers poorly paid and learning material in great demand.

The main resource which can contribute to quality education is books. The international English speaking communities help providing books in English, but do not provide books in Kiswahili. However the Non-English international community does support books in Kiswahili. An example is a NGO program started in August 2008, but it is on a small scale.

Khamisi who is the coordinator of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR) text book project describes the project this way:

This project has been sponsored by the program for institutional transformation, research (PITRO). It started in July 2008, for a 2 years program which will be another 2 if the results are there. They have committed themselves for another 2 years. Because Form 1 to Form 6 should have text books written in Kiswahili. But we will start from Form 1 to Form 4. We are planning to have 4 books (in each Form, from 1 to 4) for 10 subjects but will start with 7 subjects such as History, Geography, Commerce etc... We are not translating but we are writing the books because if you translate them the books can be from 1950s. We are using teachers from subjects they know and they have been teaching. We are starting with Form 1 and 2 the first phase, it is a yearly project. It is also a human rights problem; it will broaden the base for education. That is why we will have those 14 books publish.

Mulokozi who is the deputy-coordinator of the IKR text book project said forcefully that:

The project is writing and producing books in Kiswahili for Education development. The IKR itself is a publisher also; therefore publication will be no problem. We are writing books in Kiswahili for secondary schools and other interested people. We selected scholars, including curriculum developers and secondary school teachers, to write books in 7 subjects for now: geography, biology, chemistry, physics, math, history and accountancy. We need to popularize education. If people want Education and cannot learn in English but can in Kiswahili, the project gives them the opportunity to do so. There are almost 40 million people in Tanzania who speaks Kiswahili and more if you add Kenya and the other Kiswahili speakers. About 100 million in all, of whom about 90% do not speak or read English. These people also need to access post-primary education in a language that they understand. We also do

it for the students, who understand better the subject if the information is written in the national language. We shall publish the books and people will buy and read them once they know that they are available.

To learn English is not equivalent to getting an education. To teach English and at the same time to use it as a medium of instruction do not contribute to quality education. A child has a right to quality Education and learning English can be part of it, but learning English does not mean getting Education. My research supports the findings of earlier studies in Tanzania showing that a child learns best in the language she/he understands well. The fact that this is not followed up in policy or practice can be related to myths about the necessity of English in getting work, the momentum in the growth in private schooling, and an indifference to this development in the government educational bureaucracy. It is also implicitly supported by favoritism internationally towards the publication of English language books.

5. CONCLUSION

The use of an unfamiliar language as the language of instruction appears therefore as a strategy to keep the masses down, to stupidify them and make it difficult for them to rise out of poverty (Brock-Utne, 2007:526).

In this chapter I will first give a summary and discussion of my research findings, followed by policy recommendations and suggestions for further research in the field of language and education.

5.1 Summary and discussion

I want to emphasize that the Tanzanian voices I encountered in the field have been essential to my understanding and analysis of language and education. While my review of the literature strengthened my theoretical grounding on the problems of language, education and privatization in Tanzania, the qualitative research method I employed, based on an ethnographic approach was essential to my analysis. It brought me in contact with parents, learners, teachers, headmaster/mistress, government officials, NGOs and local academics. Their life situations, knowledge and aspirations were essential to sorting out the complexities associated with language and learning in Tanzania.

My research has reaffirmed a finding from a number of studies, including those by researchers connected to the LOITASA project: knowledge and knowledge acquisition are closely tied to local language. The best way for a child to learn is in her mother tongue, or in the case of Tanzania, Kiswahili, which is widely used as a language of communication. The evidence for this is today so overwhelming that it seems to be an obvious choice in educational policy. However, this study shows that different views on the use of language in schools remain in Tanzania and this political ambivalence about language of instruction contributes to confusion on the part of the parents of school aged children. Since the advantages of learning in a local language are not made transparent for parents, many choose English-language private schools, mainly because they believe it will increase their children's prospects for advanced education and jobs.

One of the important findings from this study is that parental decisions between public versus private schools and between Kiswahili and English are made on the basis of imperfect information about the learning implications of their choices. It is essential that the government provide better information on the role of language in learning and on the advantages of Kiswahili as a language of instruction. When confronted with this, government officials responded that it should be the parents' responsibility to seek out this information, and that the government should respect parental choices since Tanzania is a democracy. Based on my results, the problem is that the parental misunderstanding about language and learning is based on a myth: They believe that having English as the language of instruction will improve student's learning abilities and their opportunities in life. The myth has to be deflated in order for parents to make informed choices. The growth in private schools is partly due to the strength of this myth, whereas in truth a great deal of the success of private schools has to do with greater access to resources compared with government schools.

Based on my study, I would argue that quality learning and the empowerment that comes with it can only be achieved when local languages are employed in schools. In other words, for people to be able to acquire the competence needed to achieve their own interests, language should be viewed as a medium of power and not only as a means of communication (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover for everyone to participate in every aspect of society, it is important to use local languages in education.

This study shows that it is wrong to think that one can achieve basic education by imposing a single, generic way of teaching with its roots in Europe. Tanzania is one of the examples which show that schooling should be done by drawing on local culture, knowledge and historical context. Using a foreign language like English as a medium of instruction can act as a barrier to learning and to full participation in democratic institutions. From the point of view of learning, it is essential that a student develops the ability to conceptualize and analyze critically in order to examine what is happening in Tanzania and in the world. Learning to read and write in a local language improves students' abilities to think critically about their own conditions and about the world. This also contributes to self-respect and to pride in local culture. By reinforcing the importance of local languages, one reinforces the interest in local knowledge and culture. Ideally, one would choose a mother tongue as language of instruction, but in cases in which this is expensive and practically difficult to

implement, a language such as Kiswahili, with local roots and widely used in public spaces is a good second choice.

The policy of switching from Kiswahili to English midway through the schooling process, gives the impression that Kiswahili is inferior to English and that the local language is somehow inadequate in engaging with complex concepts. This reinforces the sense of inferiority of local culture and at the same time is disadvantageous for children of the lowest socio-economic strata who have had little exposure to English at home. This prejudice needs to be eliminated. It is a misguided strategy to switch to English. It reinforces cultural inequalities and inequalities in learning.

From the policy point of view, I have found that the government is not interested in implementing Kiswahili as a language of instruction and that their argument is that English, as the new global language, will bring advantages to the country and its people. However, this study shows that Kiswahili is used in the vast majority of work places in Tanzania, including government ministries. During my interviews at the Ministries, government officers would sometimes enter the room and converse with their colleagues, and their conversations were invariably in Kiswahili. Telephone conversations in government offices were conducted in Kiswahili. Many government documents that I requested were not even available in English. I spent many hours at the educational ministry almost every day of the last 3 weeks of my field work and did not hear anyone speaking English. It is obvious that the working language of government in Tanzania is Kiswahili.

The pervasive use of Kiswahili in both public and private spheres in Tanzania is a solid argument against switching to another, foreign-based language in schools. This and the detrimental effects on learning abilities should be sufficient arguments against the switch. Nonetheless, greater numbers of Tanzanian children are learning in English every year. As I have pointed out, this trend is exacerbated by the increase in enrolment in private, English-language schools. In my view, this trend not only weakens learning capacity but reinforces rather than reduces social inequalities. What is keeping the government from changing their language policy? My interviews with government officials revealed that an important factor is their fear of the costs and resources needed to make this change, and the loss of support from multilateral development organizations that are indifferent to the growth in private schooling and to the consequences of teaching in a non-local language. The best

way to improve education is to take research into consideration and not let the myth of the market's demand for English language instruction continue. Another important issue is that the provision of more resources to government schools should be prioritized. Examples are:

- Provision of books, desk, chairs, chalk and fans.
- High ratios of students compared to teachers have to be reduced.
- Help with transportation costs. Some parents cannot afford to send children to school because of transportation fees. Some parents claimed that they have chosen private schools because the public school assigned to them is far away from home.

Another general problem is that many families cannot afford to provide their children with proper lunches. Ideally, schools should provide food in order to improve children's health and ability to concentrate. Basic subsistence needs should be viewed as a basic right and one which is important for quality learning.

5.2 Recommendations and suggestions for further research

There is nothing permanent except change. (Heraclitus (Ancient Greece) quoted in Patton, 1990:54)

Today's reality is that it will take time and money for the government to put into place a system to develop Kiswahili as a language of instruction. However, as Galabawa³⁶ (2008) told me in an informal interview, if the language of instruction is a mother tongue or a local language this will provide a sustainable benefit for the country. As a result, children of all backgrounds will be able to perform better in school. Children taught in any of the language varieties (such as Hehe, Chagga and many more) similar to their mother tongue are better off in their learning comprehension than those taught in an adopted foreign language such as English, whose morphology denotes a competition of regular and irregular structures (Makalela, 2005). If Education for All is the passport to a better life, then everyone should be able to have it, regardless of where they come from in the world.

³⁶ At his office, at the University of Dar es Salaam during my fieldwork in October, 2008.

- Recommendation 1: A sustainable investment should be made in Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary school and the performance of students monitored in order to assess whether they perform better in school. Based on my findings, the costs are exaggerated and the benefits for quality learning underestimated.

One has to be aware of the fact that the concept of Education for All is good as long as we teach people about their own history as well as how the world functions. Both must be taught in a language one understands if the learner is to be able to analyze facts and to protect herself and her beliefs. The priorities and the strategies should be oriented towards equal access to education and towards reducing the strong divisions between rich and poor. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, cultural capital is embedded everywhere in the schooling system and in the language. When Kiswahili is used as a language of instruction, the access to culture is easier in and outside school; therefore it helps everyone to get a better education and to access a better status in the society. Education is power and the key to access Education is through language (Webley, 2006), then language should be emphasized in the learning process. Educators need to recognize that education is more than schooling and schooling has to adapt to the context of each country.

- Recommendation 2: Education for All should be available in a context which gives weight to local language and local culture. It is fine that Gordon Brown says that “The gift of America and Britain to the world could be, for every child in every country of the world, the chance millions do not have: the chance to go to school” (quoted by Shepherd, 2009:28). However to go to school does not mean that the child should learn how and what America and Britain are teaching in their country. Learning has to be contextualized locally in the language a child understands best.

In educational systems around the world, the most important means of distributing or transferring information was and still is paper. The technology of paper can be easily recycled and cheaply made if the knowledge and the production are local. The book industry, which is an old information technology, is the cheapest technology in which to learn and teach, since we are still using books and newspapers (even in places where we still have easy access to the internet). Books and reading are also essential to maintaining literacy and my

informants conveyed that the lack of books is problematic everywhere in Tanzania, but is an acute problem in rural areas.

- Recommendation 3: Make books available in the local language for local people, relevant to the local context. The pedagogy of a place has to be adapted in such a way that it is accessible to everyone, rural and urban, rich and poor. In line with Freire's (1970) theory, the pedagogy can then be used in the effort to empower people and free their thinking from the pedagogy of the oppressors. The sharing of power and the sharing of material goods could give a better life to everyone.

Teacher student ratios are a big problem in government schools, as well as the conditions of living and teaching. Teachers in government schools need higher salaries and better working and living conditions if they are to be expected to stay in public schools. Many parents believe private schools provide better education due to the use of English, whereas according to my study issues like access to books and lower teacher-student ratios are to a high degree responsible for differences. Government officials claim that government schools do well. This has to be revealed to the parents; however the government official from whom I requested the data told me that a separate analysis of government and private/English Medium schools was not available.

- Recommendation 4: The ratio of students to teachers should be decreased in line with UNESCO guidelines that propose a good quality learning environment should have no more than 40 students per teacher (Shepherd, 2009).
- Recommendation 5: As a final recommendation, I suggest that a secondary school with no more than 40 students per class and in Kiswahili should be established as soon as possible as a pilot school in order to monitor effects on learning. If the government is not willing to do it, it could be done as a private school with external funding.

Concerning themes for further research, as I have discussed in chapter 3, the World Bank is a powerful actor in Tanzanian policy discussions about language of instruction. An interesting study could be to analyze the sources which the World Bank uses to justify their positions on privatization and language of instruction. Why does the bank ignore the vast number of

studies which demonstrate the advantages of learning in a local language (see Bamgbose, 2009:14 in Brock-Utne & Skattum (eds) 2009).

Another important theme is better information on how students who using English as a medium of instruction are performing relative to those who use Kiswahili. Since the comparison between government and private/English Medium schools is not available in standard seven, it would be helpful to look at how students in private schools are doing in English subjects as well as in other subjects at this level.

Another interesting suggestion for further research would be to follow the PITRO³⁷ funded project, which is funding support materials and books in Kiswahili. Will this make a difference in the school results?

³⁷ Program for Institutional Transformation, Research and Outreach

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Statistics tables from MoEVT

KITENGO CHA USAJILI													
TAKWIMU ZA SHULE ZA MSINGI ZILIZOSAJILIWA HADI 18/5/2006													
	MIKOA	ZA SERIKALI	ZISIZO ZA SERIKALI										JUMLA
			AWALI TU	AWALI NA MSINGI (1)				MSINGI TU (2)					
				ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE	JUMLA	ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE	JUMLA	1 & 2	
1	ARUSHA	482	2	50	2	0	52	4	0	0	4	56	
2	DSM	370	34	72	2	1	75	15	1	1	17	92	
3	DODOMA	671	0	11	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	11	
4	IRINGA	823	1	12	1	0	13	1	0	1	2	15	
5	KAGERA	943	0	14	0	0	14	3	1	0	4	18	
6	KIGOMA	596	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	2	4	
7	KILIMANJARO	871	0	24	2	0	26	2	0	0	2	28	
8	LINDI	399	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
9	MANYARA	484	0	5	1	0	6	1	1	0	2	8	
10	MARA	662	3	10	2	0	12	0	0	0	0	12	
11	MOROGORO	764	0	12	1	0	13	0	0	0	0	13	
12	MBEYA	960	1	9	0	0	9	1	1	0	2	11	
13	MTWARA	563	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	
14	MWANZA	980	5	31	0	0	31	3	0	0	3	34	
15	PWANI	477	1	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	
16	RUVUMA	752	1	3	1	0	4	1	0	0	1	5	
17	RUKWA	490	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
18	SINGIDA	424	1	3	0	0	3	0	2	0	2	5	
19	SHINYANGA	1068	1	12	0	0	12	1	0	0	1	13	
20	TABORA	623	0	3	0	0	3	0	1	1	2	5	
21	TANGA	855	1	14	0	0	14	4	0	0	4	18	
	JUMLA	14,257	52	293	13	2	308	38	8	3	49	357	

KITENGO CHA USAJILI
TAKWIMU ZA SHULE ZA MSINGI ZILIZOSAJILIWA HADI 6/6/2007

	MKOA	ZA SERIKALI	ZISIZO ZA SERIKALI									JUMLA
			AWALI TU	AWALI NA MSINGI (1)				MSINGI TU (2)				
				ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE	JUMLA	ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE	JUMLA	
1	ARUSHA	482	3	67	1	0	68	4	0	0	4	72
2	DSM	370	37	94	3	2	99	15	1	1	17	116
3	DODOMA	671	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	15
4	IRINGA	823	1	12	1	0	13	1	0	1	2	15
5	KAGERA	943	0	25	0	0	25	3	1	0	4	29
6	KIGOMA	596	1	2	0	1	3	1	1	0	2	5
7	KILIMANJARO	871	1	32	2	0	34	2	0	0	2	36
8	LINDI	399	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	MANYARA	484	0	8	1	0	9	1	1	0	2	11
10	MARA	662	3	13	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	15
11	MOROGORO	764	0	14	4	0	18	0	0	0	0	18
12	MBEYA	960	1	10	0	0	10	1	1	0	2	12
13	MTWARA	563	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
14	MWANZA	980	8	41	0	0	41	3	0	0	3	44
15	PWANI	477	1	8	0	0	8	1	0	0	1	9
16	RUVUMA	752	2	4	1	0	5	1	0	0	1	6
17	RUKWA	490	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
18	SINGIDA	424	1	4	0	0	4	0	2	0	2	6
19	SHINYANGA	1068	1	15	0	0	15	2	0	0	2	17
20	TABORA	623	0	6	0	0	6	0	1	1	2	8
21	TANGA	855	1	18	0	0	18	4	0	0	4	22
	JUMLA	14.257	62	389	16	3	408	40	8	3	51	459

KITENGO CHA USAJILI
TAKWIMU ZA SHULE ZA MSINGI ZILIZOSAJILIWA HADI 10/7/2008

	MKOA	GU ZA SERIKALI BEST	PR-50% AWALI TU	ZISIZO ZA SERIKALI (Gov. Sch. (Private))								JUMLA 70/20
				Pre and Primary AWALI NA MSINGI (1)				Primary only MSINGI TU (2)				
				ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINEZO	JUMLA	ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE	JUMLA	
1	ARUSHA		3	81	1	0	82	4	0	0	4	86
2	DSM		42	101	3	2	106	15	1	1	17	123
3	DODOMA		0	15	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	15
4	IRINGA		2	13	1	0	14	1	0	1	2	16
5	KAGERA		0	28	0	0	28	3	1	0	4	32
6	KIGOMA		1	3	0	1	4	1	1	0	2	6
7	KILIMANJARO		1	36	2	0	38	2	0	0	2	40
8	LINDI		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	MANYARA		0	9	1	0	10	1	1	0	2	12
10	MARA		3	13	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	15
11	MOROGORO		0	15	4	0	19	0	0	0	0	19
12	MBEYA		1	13	0	0	13	1	1	0	2	15
13	MTWARA		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
14	MWANZA		7	45	0	0	45	3	0	0	1	46
15	PWANI		1	11	0	0	11	1	0	0	1	12
16	RUVUMA		2	5	1	0	6	1	0	0	1	7
17	RUKWA		0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
18	SINGIDA		1	4	0	0	4	0	2	0	2	6
19	SHINYANGA		1	16	0	0	16	2	0	0	2	18
20	TABORA		0	6	0	0	6	0	0	1	1	7
21	TANGA		0	20	0	0	20	4	0	0	4	24
	JUMLA	15,300	66	435	16	3	454	38	7	3	48	502

NB: Shule za Msingi za Serikali 15300

Shule za Msingi zisizo za Serikali 50%

Jumla ya Shule za Msingi za Serikali na zisizo za Serikali 15802

KITENGO CHA USAJILI
TAKWIMU ZA SHULE ZA MSINGI ZILIZOSAJILIWA HADI 09/10/2008

	Mkoa	ZA Serikali	ZISIZO ZA SERIKALI								JUMLA	
			AWALI TU	AWALI NA MSINGI (1)				MSINGI TU (2)				
				ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINEZO	JUMLA	ENGLISH	KISW.	NYINGINE		JUMLA
1	ARUSHA		3	83	1	0	84	4	0	0	4	88
2	DSM		42	108	3	2	113	15	1	1	17	130
3	DODOMA		0	16	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	16
4	IRINGA		2	13	1	0	14	1	0	1	2	16
5	KAGERA		0	28	0	0	28	3	1	0	4	32
6	KIGOMA		1	3	0	1	4	1	1	0	2	6
7	KILIMANJARO		1	36	2	0	38	2	0	0	2	40
8	LINDI		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	MANYARA		0	9	1	0	10	1	1	0	2	12
10	MARA		3	16	1	0	17	0	0	0	0	17
11	MOROGORO		0	15	4	0	19	0	0	0	0	19
12	MBEYA		1	14	0	0	14	1	1	0	2	16
13	MTWARA		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2
14	MWANZA		7	45	0	0	45	3	0	0	1	46
15	PWANI		1	12	0	0	12	1	0	0	1	13
16	RUVUMA		2	5	1	0	6	1	0	0	1	7
17	RUKWA		0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
18	SINGIDA		2	4	0	0	4	0	2	0	2	6
19	SHINYANGA		1	17	0	0	17	2	0	0	2	19
20	TABORA		0	6	0	0	6	0	0	1	1	7
21	TANGA		0	21	0	0	21	4	0	0	4	65
	JUMLA	15,300	67	452	15	3	470	38	7	3	48	558

NB: Shule za Msingi za Serikali 15300

Shule za Msingi zisizo za Serikali 558

Jumla ya Shule za Msingi za Serikali na zisizo za Serikali 15858

Appendix B: Pictures



Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

Appendix C: Interview guides in English and Kiswahili

I also noted body language and created a spread sheets with information such as **NAME**, **AGE** and **GENDER** of the interviewees.

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.1: To parents

- 1- What is your mother tongue?
- 2- Which language do you speak with your children?
- 3- Did your child have a problem of language? If yes, which one and how?
- 4- Did you attend school? Until what grade? If not, would you have liked to go to school?
- 5- Do you speak/understand English?
- 6- What are the characteristics of a good school for you?
- 7- Why did you decide to have your children in an English private/public school?
- 8- What is the cost of the school? And the cost for schooling?
- 9- If private: How expensive is it according to your income?
- 10- In public: What could be improved in school for your child to learn better?

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.1: Kiswahili version

Maswali ya usaili kwa wazazi:

1. Lugha yako ya asili ni nini?
2. Lugha gani unazungumza na watoto wako au nyumbani?
3. Je, watoto wako wamewahi kuwa na shida ya kuelewa lugha ya kufundishia? Kama ndio shida gani?
4. Umesoma mpaka kiwango gani?
5. Je unaongea na kuelewa kiingereza?
6. Ni nini maana ya shule nzuri kulingana na maoni yako?
7. Je kwa nini umeamua kuwapeleka watoto wako katika shule ya binafsi/serikali?
8. Unalipa shilingi ngapi?
9. Kama shule ni ya binafsi: je ni ya gharama kiasi gani ukilinganisha na kipato chako?
10. Kama ni ya serikali ni nini kinachohitaji

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.2: To educators

- 1- If private: In which language do you teach your pupils?
- 2- Do they all understand what you are saying?
- 3- Do you think that language is important for good learning?
- 4- In your view, what role does the language of instruction play in the learning process?
- 5- What are the characteristics of a good school for you?
- 6- What could improve the learning process?
- 7- What are the biggest problems that a child can encounter in her/his learning process?
- 8- Of the recent changes in education, what would you say have been positive and what have been negative?
- 9- What would you suggest to improve the ways that children learn?
- 10- What changes do you see for the school system in Tanzania in the future?

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.2: Kiswahili version

Maswali ya usaili kwa walimu:

1. wewe binafsi: ni lugha gani unawafundisha wanafunzi?
- 2 Je wanafunzi wote huelewa unachokisema/ unachofundisha?
3. Lugha ya kufundishia ina umuhimu gani shuleni kulingana na maoni yako?
4. Je kwa mtizamo wako ni nini maana ya shule nzuri?
5. Je kwa mtizamo wako ni nini kinachoweza kuboresha hali ya kijifunza shuleni?
6. Ni shida mkubwa gani ambayo mwanafunzi anaweza kupata wakati wa kujifunza?
7. Ni nini kinachoweza kuyafanya masomo yawe ya hali ya juu?
8. katika mabadiliko ya hivi karibuni katika elimu, ni yapi yenye athari chanya/ yapi yenye athari hasi?
9. Je una mapendekezo gani ya kuboresha jinsi wanafunzi wanajifunza?
10. Ukitabiri siku zijazo, unayaona mabadiliko gani yanaweza kutokea katika shule nchini Tanzania?

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.3: To pupils

- 1- How do you like school?
- 2- Which language or languages do you speak at home? With your friends during the breaks at school?
- 3- Do you understand everything that the teacher says?
- 4- Do you have any difficulties in school (classroom)? If yes, are any of them related to the language?
- 5- What would be nice to have in school to improve your learning?
- 6- What would you like to have at home to improve your learning?
- 7- Do you have homework? If yes, do you have time to do your homework? If not why?

- 8- Do your parents help you with your homework? Which language do you use when discussing the homework?
- 9- Do you read books for pleasure? What was the last book you read?
- 10- How could you learn better?

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.3: Kiswahili version

Kwa wanafunzi:

1. Je unapenda shule?
2. Unatumia/unazitumia lugha gani/ zipi nyumbani? Unatumi lugha gani na marafiki wakati wa mapumziko shuleni?
3. Je unaelewa kila kitu mwalimu anachosema darasani?
4. Unazo shida zozote au za kilugha darasani?
5. Ni nini kinachoweza kuyafanya masomo yawe afadhali shuleni kwako?
6. Ni nini unatamani uwe nacho nyumbani ili hali yako ya masomo iboreke?
7. Unapewa kazi shuleni za kufanya nyumbani; Je una nafasi ya kufanya kazi za shule nyumbani; Kama haupati nafasi ni kwa nini?
8. Je wazazi wako wanakusaidia na kazi zako za shule? Mnatumia lugha gani mnapoifanya ile kazi pamoja?
9. Unasoma vitabu vya kujifurahisha? Je ulikisoma kitabu gani mwishoni?
10. Je unaweza kusoma kwa njia gani ambayo ni bora kuliko unayoitumia sasa?

INTERVIEW GUIDE N.4: To the Government officials/NGO staff

- 1- In what direction do you think the school system in Tanzania changed during the last years?
- 2- Private schools are growing in Tanzania, do you have an idea about why this is happening? What do you think about this development?
- 3- What role does the language of instruction play in the learning process?
- 4- Do you think that switching a language after some years in school can be problematic? If yes, why does Tanzania do it?
- 5- Private schools are teaching in English. Why do they do this?
- 6- What does the government do to improve the education system in Tanzania?
- 7- What would the government like to do to improve the education system in Tanzania?
- 8- Is there any international influence that you can think of which pushes Tanzania towards a private English system?
- 9- What changes would you like to see for the school system in Tanzania in the future?
- 10- How likely do you think it is that these changes will take place?

Appendix D: Schedule in Tanzania

Visit Tanzania from the 17th of October to the 25th of November 2008

Observations and interviews consisted of:

2 schools (1 public and 1 private)

2 headmasters and 6 teachers (4 in public and 4 in private)

6 parents and 6 pupils (6 in the public school and 6 in the private school)

3 government officials

3 NGOs staff

WEEK 43: (1ST)

School observation 2 days a week in the public school and 2 days a week in the Private school.

An interview with a teacher and a headmaster in the public school and the same in the private school (4 interviews).

Organizing interviews with 2 pupils from the public and 2 pupils from the private school (in the 3rd week).

A day at the University of Dar es Salaam: supervising with Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo.

WEEK 44: (2ND)

School observation 2 days in the private school or in the public school.

An interview with 2 teachers in the public school and the same in the private school (4 interviews).

Organizing interviews with 2 pupils from the public school and 2 pupils from the private school (in the 4th week).

Interview a government official or/and a NGO staff.

Visit at the University of Dar es Salaam: supervising with Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo.

WEEK 45: (3RD)

School observation 2 days in the public school or in the private school.

An interview with two parents in the private school and two parents in the public school (4 interviews).

Interview with 2 pupils from the private school and 2 pupils from the public school.

Interview a government official or/and a NGO staff.

Visit at the University of Dar es Salaam: supervising with Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo.

WEEK 46: (4TH)

School observation 2 days in the public school or in the private school.

An interview with two parents in the private school and two parents in the public school (4 interviews).

Interview with 2 pupils from the public school and the private school (4 interviews).

Interview a government official or/and a NGO staff.

Visit at the University of Dares-Salaam: supervising with Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo.

WEEK 47: (5TH)

Interview a government official.

Interview the same headmasters and/or teachers and/or parents once more if necessary.

Visit at the University of Dar es Salaam : supervising with Dr. Mwajuma Vuzo.

Data presentation and supervising with Dr. Brock-Utne Birgit.

Appendix E: research permit

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Cable: "ELIMU" DAR ES SALAAM
Telex: 41742 Elimu Tz.
Telephone: 2121287, 2110146
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Post Office Box 9121
DAR ES SALAAM

In reply please quote:

Ref. ED/EP/ERC/VOL II/ 18

Date: Tuesday, November 4th, 2008

The Director,
Department of Policy and Planning-MoEVT
Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE)

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR MS. ZEHLIA BABACI-WILHITE:

The captioned matter above refers. The mentioned is bonafide student of the University of Oslo, she is conducting research on the topic titled "**Why the Language of Instruction is Important for Quality Learning Achievement and why the most Obvious Choice- a Language of Instruction which Learner would Understand well- is Seldom Made** " as part of her course programme for the award of Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education).

The researcher needs to collect data and necessary information from your office which related to the research topic.

In line with the above information you are being requested to provide the needed assistance that will enable her to complete this study successfully.

The period by which this permission has been granted is from **4th November, 2008 to 30th December, 2008.**

By copy of this letter, **Ms. Zehlia Babaci Wilhite** is required to submit a copy of the report (or part of it) to the *Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training* for documentation and reference.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A. Ngodu'.

Abdallah S. Ngodu
For Permanent Secretary

✓ CC: Ms. Zehlia Babaci Wilhite